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Traditional Masculinity Ideology and Normative Male Alexithymia

by

Lorraine H. Bray

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Educational Psychology

in

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Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

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In memory of

Lillian M. Bray

(1917 - 1995)

Abstract

The gender-bifurcated socialization of males in Western society has recently been linked to a condition, normative male alexithymia, that is best described as an undeveloped aspect or deficit in the cognitive processing and regulation of emotions on the mild to moderate end of the alexithymia continuum. Resulting from changes in the autonomic nervous system, physical sensations in the body are all that many alexithymic males can experience when having strong emotions, compromising their ability to regulate stressful situations and compromising their capacity for empathy. The extent of alexithymic characteristics varies from person to person and within the same person, depending on the context of the situation. This study explores the emotional disadvantages of traditional masculinity ideology, the prevalence of low emotional awareness in men, and the construct of normative male alexithymia.

The Male Role Norms Inventory and the Levels of Emotional Awareness Scale were used to examine the construct of normative male alexithymia and its relevance to 372 males and 188 females living in a northern Canadian community. Data were gathered from two research sites (college and trades) using written questionnaires.

Regression analysis demonstrated that college males' level of endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology predicts their level of emotional awareness ($p < .005$), but this relationship did not exist for trades males. For trades males their age and their need for social approval played a greater role in explaining their level of emotional awareness than did their tendency to endorse traditional masculinity ideology.

MANCOVA established that trades males endorse traditional male role norms to a greater degree than do college males ($p < .009$), and that both trades males ($p < .001$)

and college males ($p < .001$) endorse traditional male role norms to a greater degree than do their female counterparts. It was also demonstrated that level of emotional awareness varied according to participant's gender ($p < .001$) but did not vary according to participant's occupational/social setting (college student/instructor or trades person). Results generally confirmed gender differences in emotional awareness. Outcomes for trades males were unexpected and require further investigation.

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I would like to acknowledge the gracious input, intellectual contribution, and unwavering commitment of Dr. Ronald Levant to the supervision of this research over an extended period of time. The quality and content of this document have been shaped by his overarching view, expertise, and dedication to the new psychology of men. The commitment and contribution of Dr. Fern Snart to the process have also been invaluable, long term, and very much appreciated. Dr. Derek Truscott's willingness to take a risk and provide supervision, guidance, and encouragement to the finish line has also been greatly appreciated.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

There is a pressing need for an ongoing, forward-thinking examination of the social, emotional, and gender expectations that Western society has of baby boys as they toddle into boyhood, of boys as they mature into adolescence, of adolescent males as they journey into manhood, and, finally, of the traditional roles that are prescribed for men. Elucidating the unique language and struggles of boys and men has been a focus of the men's movement since the 1970s; however, that movement has been fragmented, serving varying points of view and seeming to lack the unity, passion, and visibility of the feminist movement (Astrachan, 1986).

The movement may seem to lack the passion to attract ongoing media attention, but what of the men who have met the personal challenge and answered the call? In a preliminary exploration of men's issues (Bray, 1992), participants were asked to identify their personal reasons for participating in a men's consciousness raising group. Their responses were not devoid of passion. The strongest finding was their clear support (95%) of feminist-inspired changes rather than anger and blame directed at the women's movement. For example, when asked what his reasons were for attending the group, one participant wrote, "To help me reclaim myself, to know myself, to get nurturing from myself and others—so I can quit draining the women I get involved with" (p. 153). Another participant responded, "To share my experience of my *feminine* with men who fear or don't understand women" (p. 152). They were seeking a deeper connection with other men, wanting, as one participant stated, "to develop more meaningful friendships thru shared feelings of isolation, grief, loss and other feelings that result from our roles as

men in this culture" (p. 163). They addressed gender shame, as participants stated their desire to move beyond "men being [seen as] filthy, disgusting, awful. I want to feel that being a man is good" (p. 150), and gender stereotypes, "striving to honor men, [and] honor women. Let us treat each other with compassion and respect for who we are, and let us stop trying to force people into an imposed framework" (p. 176). Participants in this study indicated that one of their areas of need was their sense of being *detached from their inner self* or low emotional awareness. They made a distinction between emotional awareness and emotional expression, and some of the participants were seeking assistance with the ability to listen to their inner selves (emotional awareness), which may or may not be manifested in an increase in emotional expression. Participants explained, "I am learning to feel and [to] become myself and tell the world who I am" (p. 151) and to "know self deep down" (p. 168), "speaking the truth from my own heart and body, . . . letting 'being' guide doing" (p. 168). It was the men's voices from that study that were the inspiration and springboard for this research.

Following their urging, a search for current and meaningful discussion in the area of men's emotional detachment from inner self (low emotional awareness) led to the recognition of the construct *normative male alexithymia* (ă lĕk sə thī′ mē ə) and a profusion of relevant academic journal articles, books, and individuals dedicated to changing the constraining definitions of masculinity. Many of the men and women conducting relevant research for the men's movement in the area of redefining masculinity and examining the associated issue of emotional awareness are from the profeminist stream. They are responsible for initiating a great deal of the foundational academic research regarding the socialization of boys and men and related areas such as

normative male alexithymia and stereotypical male roles. Their efforts expanded to the creation of a comprehensive men's studies program in universities and colleges across the United States to enhance an academic examination of men's psychology and to create a public consciousness of issues specific to the lives of men (Brod, 1987; Franklin, 1988). In 1997 the inauguration of a permanent men's studies division (The Society for the Psychological Study of Men and Masculinity) within the American Psychological Association became a reality that rose out of profeminist concerns. Academic journals serving the larger cause are *The Journal of Men's Studies, Men and Masculinities,* and *Psychology of Men and Masculinity*. Among other topics, these journals highlight men's issues, promote the study of the social construction of male gender roles, and identify the resulting strains, restrictions, and disadvantages of the traditional socialization of boys and men in Western culture and cross culturally.

The above-mentioned venues are committed to enhancing men's psychological development intrapsychically and interpersonally by recognizing that negative definitions of masculinity sustain oppression of self and others and inhibit the optimal development of men and those who come in contact with them. By exposing oppression and advancing appropriate changes through education and research, it is anticipated that all persons, regardless of gender, class, culture, sexual orientation, or race, will benefit from an examination of traditional masculinity ideology. The degree to which a society endorses traditional masculinity ideology impacts the socialization of men, women, and children functioning in that culture (Frymier, Klopf, & Ishii, 1990; Gilmore, 1990; Leff, 1973; Levant, 1990a, 1992a, 1992b, 1997; Levant, Wu, & Fischer, 1996). It is hypothesized that a high degree of endorsement of traditional masculine norms increases a sense of

emotional detachment from inner self (low emotional awareness) for men. Feldman Barrett, Lane, Sechrest, and Schwartz (2000) and Levine, Marziali, and Hood (1997) have found strong generalizable results from eight studies that reported American men score lower than American women on their level of emotional awareness. Whether this difference in level of emotional awareness is a result of the Western traditional socialization of boys and men and their endorsement of associated norms that contribute to males' restricted emotionality remains a question. For clarification, the term Western traditional socialization and associated references to Western society are being used in this study to describe a geographic limitation within which varying socialization influences create many versions of masculinity rather than Western socialization being viewed as a monolithic influence.

It is anticipated that as research illuminates these areas of concern, men will be encouraged to develop a healthier sense of self and communicate their needs more effectively in their intimate and family relationships. As Levant (1997a) stated, it could be that "unexamined aspects of masculinity may account for much of the variance in failures to achieve gender equality" (p. 440). With the redefinition of what is feminine must come the redefinition of what is masculine (Balswick, 1988). However, trying to effect change without adequate knowledge is a barrier to advancing the emotional health of men and women and their families. Hence, I attempted to examine the effects of the endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology on men's level of emotional awareness and to examine the relevance of the term normative male alexithymia in the context of level of emotional awareness.

In order to orient the reader to the complexity of this new construct, the first chapter will deal in depth and breadth with the concept of normative male alexithymia and with constructs in the field that are closely related. Additionally, the repercussions of a strict adherence to the traditional male code on emotional development and the quality of men's relationships will be reviewed.

Normative Male Alexithymia

Normative male alexithymia is a condition that is best described as an undeveloped aspect or deficit in the cognitive processing of emotions and regulation of emotional functioning on the mild to moderate end of the alexithymia continuum (Levant, 1995b). The word *alexithymia* was constructed by Sifneos in 1972 from a series of Greek root words: *a* meaning "no," *lexi* meaning "word," and *thymos* meaning "emotion." These three roots combined literally mean "no words for emotion."

To define alexithymia or normative male alexithymia accurately, it is important to envision this condition as a *deficit* or incomplete development of the structures and schemas necessary for processing emotional states and regulating emotions (Parker, Bagby, & Taylor, 1989; Parker, Bagby, Taylor, Endler, & Schmitz, 1993; Parker, Taylor, & Bagby, 1998; Taylor, 1984, 1994, 2000; Taylor, Ryan, & Bagby, 1985; Taylor, Bagby, Ryan, & Parker, 1990). Because of this deficit or incompleteness in development, alexithymic individuals have difficulty identifying and describing their emotions, have a limited imaginal or representational capacity, and tend toward an externally oriented style of thinking (Nemiah, Freyberger, & Sifneos, 1976; Taylor, 2000; Wise & Mann, 1993). As well, their ability to assign meaning to their emotions and to use them effectively to regulate stressful situations is compromised, as is their capacity for empathy (Krystal,

1979; Parker et al., 1998; Schaffer, 1993; Taylor, 1987). As long as an alexithymic individual's emotions remain undifferentiated, unverbalizable, and poorly regulated, physical sensations in the body that are controlled by the autonomic nervous system take the place of feelings (Krystal, 1979, 1988a, 1999; Taylor, 1984, 1994, 2000). The degree and severity of these characteristics vary from person to person and within the same person, depending on the context of the situation. Horney (1952/1991) explained:

> The world of inner experiences is not shrivelled or extinct, . . . but this inner world is not accessible to conscious experience. . . . It is as if the person had turned his back on his inner life; as if it all was covered by fog; as if he had closed an airtight or soundproof door; as if he had walled off everything. (p. 3)

The "fog" is inconsistent in its density because it can dissipate, at least to some degree; and at other times it is impenetrable (Horney, 1952/1991; Krystal, 1999). It is a lighter, less dense "fog" that is associated with the term normative male alexithymia. The term suggests that many males in Western culture have been discouraged by parents, peers, educators, literature, and the media from developing the necessary skills to effectively perceive, cognitively process, regulate, and communicate their emotions to themselves and to others (Fischer & Good, 1997; Levant, 1995b; O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995; O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986). These skills are learned (Saarni, 2000), and therefore the functional disadvantages of normative male alexithymia, the associated restrictive emotionality, the difficulty in cognitively processing emotions, and the inadequate lexicon of emotion words can, in many cases, be remedied by new learning.

Although there is more than one etiology associated with alexithymia (Krystal, 1982; Taylor, 1997), in the case of normative male alexithymia the condition is considered to be the result of a socialization process that truncates and/or limits the

emotional development of many boys in our Western culture (Berman, 1980; Brooks, 1995, 1998; Levant, 1995b, 1998; Levant & Kopecky, 1995; O'Neil et al., 1986; O'Neil et al., 1995; Pollack, 1998c, 2001). The construct normative male alexithymia evolved from the clinical term alexithymia and was brought to the forefront of the psychological literature by Ron Levant in 1992a to assist in understanding the effects that traditional masculine roles can have on the emotional socialization of boys and men. The term was constructed in the following manner. Normative male alexithymia is viewed as a mild to moderate subclinical deficit that is typical and common in most males in Western culture—that is what makes it *normative* (Levant, 1998; Pollack & Levant, 1998). The socialization of boys and men in Western culture encourages the restriction of emotional awareness and communication, and this restriction is considered normal. In Western culture it is expected, accepted, and considered a normal everyday occurrence to converse with a man who struggles with his ability to put words to his emotions, is robot-like in his responses to emotional situations, and is action oriented at a time when an empathetic response is needed (Levant & Kopecky, 1995). However, each male is socialized into the traditional male code in a very individualistic way and to varying degrees according to childhood family environment, race, sexual orientation, ethnic background, and biological, neurological, and genetic determinants (Lazur & Majors, 1995; Leff, 1973; Pleck, 1981, 1987b, 1995). Therefore, some males are more effective in their ability to put words to their emotions than is typical of most males, and some males exhibit a high level of emotional awareness with no tendencies to alexithymia. However, the societal expectation that vulnerable emotions will be restricted is specific to boys and men and is

much less likely to apply to girls and women—that is what makes this condition normative for *males*.

This is how the term normative male alexithymia was constructed to include the descriptors normative and male. The actual translation of the term *alexithymia*—no words for emotion—represents one part of the construct's definition and refers to the absence of an adequate vocabulary of feeling words accompanied by having difficulty perceiving and communicating internal emotional states. For most men, having difficulty perceiving and communicating internal emotional states persists throughout childhood, adolescence, and into adulthood. Adherence to the traditional male code normalizes the development of alexithymic characteristics and encourages men and boys to conform to stereotypical expectations that are unachievable and often dysfunctional (Franklin, 1988; Levant, 1995a, 1998; Levant & Brooks, 1997; Meth, 1990a, 1990b; Pittman, 1992; Seidler, 1989).

Females are not immune to alexithymia (Kimball, 2000). Besides being vulnerable to many of the same developmental variables and determinants as are males, it is also a condition frequently associated with childhood sexual abuse and posttraumatic stress disorder that are secondary to sexual assault. What is unique and differentiates the male developmental experience from the female developmental experience is the stereotypical expectation in our culture that women should experience and express their emotions and men should not. Consequently, males tend to have a lower level of emotional awareness than females (Feldman Barrett et al., 2000).

In summary, it is hypothesized that (a) normative male alexithymia is commonplace and widespread among men in Western culture, (b) this condition is

prevalent in men at least partly because of the traditional role expectations imposed upon them from infancy, and (c) most men can reverse the effects of traditional socialization by developing the cognitive skills of perceiving, identifying, and communicating their emotions (Levant & Kopecky, 1995). Many psychologists and researchers working in the area of men's issues theorize that it is the socialization of boys and men according to the traditional masculine code that greatly contributes to the development of a mild to moderate form of alexithymia (Levant & Brooks, 1997; Levant & Pollack, 1995; Pollack & Levant, 1998). This working theory has been empirically supported by Levant, Majors, et al.'s (2003) research. They found a significant and positive correlation between alexithymia as measured by the Toronto Alexithymia Scale—20 (TAS 20; Bagby, Parker, & Taylor, 1994) and traditional masculinity ideology as measured by the Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI; Levant et al., 1992).

The relationship between traditional masculinity ideology and level of emotional awareness is the subject of this research, which attempts to expose the emotional disadvantages of traditional masculinity ideology and the long-term impact of low emotional awareness for men and to validate the construct normative male alexithymia. It is anticipated that the results of this study will contribute to assessing the extensiveness of normative male alexithymia in men socialized in Western society. By doing so, perhaps men and women will be assisted in reducing the isolation, confusion, loss of relationships, and pain experienced by those who are affected by this condition. It is also hoped that if normative male alexithymia is explicitly labeled, the construct will eventually be integrated into public awareness and that integration will contribute to broader changes regarding the parenting of boys and the counselling of men.

Suppression

It would be inaccurate to describe alexithymia or normative male alexithymia as the suppression of feelings. Suppression is a term used in psychology and psychiatry to describe a conscious defense mechanism that involves the deliberate banishing of selected thoughts, feelings, wishes, or memories from consciousness (Colman, 2001) by intentionally avoiding thinking about disturbing problems, desires, feelings, or experiences (Ayd, 1995). The etiological theories of alexithymia are varied and complex (Sifneos, 1983; Wise, Mann, & Epstein, 1991), but none would be considered a conscious defense mechanism because the condition is by definition a *deficit* in cognitive processing and the regulation of emotion. "The characteristics that comprise the alexithymia construct," stated Taylor (2000), "reflect deficits both in the cognitive-experiential component of emotion response systems and at the level of interpersonal regulation of emotion" (p. 135). Normative male alexithymia is not an intentional avoiding, but a deficit that is proposed to result from an insidious socialization process prevalent in Western culture. This socialization process encourages the restriction of the cognitive-experiential component of men's emotional response system, which, in the long term, hinders achieving emotional closeness in interpersonal relationships.

The term *suppression of feelings*, however, could possibly be used to understand individuals with an associated condition, secondary alexithymia, which Wise, Mann, Mitchell, Hryvniak, and Hill (1990) described as "a secondary state reaction to medical illness" (p. 284). Because of the incapacitation and suffering accompanying some primary illnesses, it is hypothesized that some individuals may use alexithymic characteristics as a defense mechanism to ward off painful affects and depression (Bach,

Bach, Bohmer, & Nutzinger, 1994; Nemiah et al. 1976). Haviland, MacMurray, and Cummings (1988) also conceptualized alexithymia as a defense against depression when alexithymic characteristics were found to lessen over time for abstinent alcoholics as they progressed in their recovery. The implication is that, in the case of secondary alexithymia, denial allows for a reversal of the defensive process and therefore the disappearance of alexithymic behavior.

Repression

Repression of feelings is not to be confused with alexithymia or normative male alexithymia. In psychoanalysis, repression is defined as "a defense mechanism whereby unacceptable thoughts, feelings, or wishes are banished from consciousness" (Colman 2001, p. 632), and therefore the individual is unable to remember discrete disturbing feelings, thoughts, or experiences (Ayd, 1995). Sigmund Freud (as cited in Colman, 2001) defined repression as a "turning something away, and keeping it at a distance, from the conscious" (p. 632). Again, the constructs of alexithymia and normative male alexithymia are not limited to the turning away or banishing of discrete 'unacceptable' or negative feelings but rather a cognitive and affective *deficit* in the ability to access and communicate all emotions. Both constructs are more global in nature than the repression of negative thoughts, feelings, or wishes (Hansen, Hansen, & Shantz, 1992; King, Emmons, & Woodley, 1992; Lane et al., 1996; Taylor, 1984). Empirical studies have shown that alexithymia is a distinct and separate construct from the repressive coping style, because repressors have been observed to score lower on a measure of alexithymia (TAS-20) than have nonrepressors (Myers, 1995).

Neuroticism and Introversion

There are differences between the alexithymia and normative male alexithymia constructs and the constructs of neuroticisim and introversion (Wise & Mann, 1994). Parker, Bagby, and Taylor (1989) cited Eysenck (1975) when they explained that neurotic individuals "are quickly aroused by all types of stimuli and readily express their emotions verbally," whereas alexithymic individuals "have difficulty expressing their emotional states verbally" (p. 602). Both tend to be unstable when faced with everyday stresses; however, neurotic individuals display their emotions behaviorally with restlessness and excitability, whereas alexithymic individuals tend to focus on the physiological aspect of their emotional response because they lack the emotional vocabulary to communicate their feelings. It is also characteristic of alexithymics to have difficulty reflecting on their inner subjective life with a tendency to focus on external events, and it is these qualities that distinguish an alexithymic from the more reflective and introspective introvert (Nemiah et al., 1976; Taylor, 1984).

La Pensée Operatoire, Detachment from Inner Self, and Emotional Inexpressiveness

The term *la pensée operatoire*, or operative thinking, was a precursor to the current definition of alexithymia that originated with the French analysts Marty and de M'Uzan in 1963 (as cited in Taylor, Bagby, & Parker, 1997). It is not a synonym for alexithymia or normative male alexithymia because it is incomplete in its operational definition; however, it did contribute to the evolution of the current four-factor definition of alexithymia. The phrases *detachment from inner self* and *emotional inexpressiveness* are also incomplete representations of the constructs alexithymia and normative male

alexithymia in that they each refer to only one aspect of the condition and are, therefore, not synonymous with these constructs.

Emotional Competence

Even though the construct normative male alexithymia is not mentioned in Carolyn Saarni's (1999, 2000) discussion of the development of emotional competence, her writing is a significant contribution to understanding how to avoid the pitfalls of normative male alexithymia. Alexithymia is referred to in the clinical and severe form, but it is not addressed in its mild to moderate form as it pertains to men's studies. However, her writing resonated with the men's studies' understanding of the etiology of normative male alexithymia through her discussion of gender-bifurcated socialization and through her belief that emotional competence relies on specific skills that are learned. Another point of resonance is through her endorsement of social constructionism that upheld the idea that the building blocks to emotional competence are built through a reciprocal and intimate interconnection between an individual's relationships, self-understanding, and emotional development. She outlined eight essential skills that are necessary for emotional competence, and it is the inadequate development of these eight skills that represents the developmental derailing required of boys and men to meet the traditional definition of masculinity. Although her general theme of emotional competence was gender neutral, she examined sex differences in coping, emotion regulation, emotion awareness, emotion communication, language, expressive behavior, self-efficacy, empathy, sympathy, and prosocial behavior.

Emotional Intelligence

Mayer and Salovey's (1995) concept of emotional intelligence aligns with the construct normative male alexithymia; however, the alignment lapses in two areas. Normative male alexithymia is a developmental issue throughout a male's life span, but the concept of emotional intelligence gives minimal recognition to an individual's developmental history. The construct was also developed through empirical studies undertaken almost exclusively with adult subjects, ignoring the issues pertinent and specific to boys and adolescents (Saarni, 2000). As well, the concept of emotional intelligence has competing definitions (Mayer, Salovey, & Caruso, 2000), and Mayer and Salovey (1995) have yet to develop a standardized method for assessing the construct (Parker, Taylor, & Bagby, 2001).

An additional obstacle for using this construct to describe the outcomes associated with the traditional socialization of males is that the construct requires integrating two component terms, "*intelligence* and *emotion*" (Mayer & Salovey, 1997, p. 4). There is a problem with the term intelligence: It implies a quantifiable, hierarchical ability as opposed to a learned skill that is constantly subject to change or revision. The notion of intelligence as "an entity that we locate *inside* the person or as being traitlike" (Saarni, 2000, p. 84), is inconsistent with the social constructionism foundation on which the construct normative male alexithymia has been developed. Mayer and Salovey did distinguish between emotional intelligence and "traits and talents" (p. 8), and Goleman (1995) argued that it is possible to learn the skills of emotional intelligence at any stage in life. However, the connotative meaning of the term intelligence posits an immediate, possibly threatening question as to how high or low one might score in this respect. The

connotative implications are anticipated to be an obstacle in assessing or researching reluctant male clients and subjects, thereby creating unnecessary resistance in the process. Many men begin their exploration of low emotional awareness with great hesitation that stems from years of experiencing shame because they either deviate from or do not achieve the high expectations of the traditional masculine code (Krugman, 1995; Krugman, 1991, as cited in Levant, 1995a; Pleck, 1981, 1987a, 1987b). Asking them to address their level of emotional intelligence is expected to be counterproductive. In contrast, the term alexithymia, in its unusualness, is connotatively new to most people and has the potential of representing a fresh start. As previously mentioned, translating the term alexithymia to "no words for emotion" promotes the idea of empathetic action for oneself by learning new feeling words and developing a language for emotions—one of the essential skills for achieving emotional competency (Saarni, 2000) and an act of self-care essential to the development of self-awareness (Krystal, 1988a).

Alexithymia

Developing a complete understanding of the concept of normative male alexithymia requires an understanding of the broader construct, alexithymia. Alexithymia has been found to be distributed across the general population (14% to 19%) and can be viewed as being on a continuum ranging from a mild subclinical form to a severe clinical form (Bagby, Taylor, & Parker, 1994; Lane & Schwartz, 1987; Sifneos, 1988; Taylor, 1994; Taylor, Bagby, & Parker, 1991). "It [alexithymia] seems to be wide spread," explained Sifneos (1988), so much so that "some authors have even ventured to call its deficiencies *the personality of our times*. It cannot be seen as a disease entity," he stated, but rather as a "deficiency in the emotional life" (p. 287).

The construct alexithymia "encompasses a cluster of cognitive and affective characteristics" (p. 134), explained Taylor (2000), and is comprised of the following salient features: (a) difficulty in identifying emotions, (b) difficulty describing feelings, (c) a restrictive imaginal capacity, and (d) an externally oriented style of thinking (Nemiah et al., 1976; Wise & Mann, 1993). Beyond this four-factor definition, empirical studies have also found that individuals with high degrees of alexithymia have a limited capacity for empathy (Krystal, 1979; Taylor, 1987), difficulty identifying emotions in the facial expressions of others (Jessimer & Markham, 1997; Lane et al., 1996), and a limited ability to assign meaning to their emotions and to use them to regulate stressful situations (Parker et al., 1998; Schaffer, 1993).

Alexithymia was originally observed in individuals with psychosomatic disorders which, Taylor (1984) noted and Ahrens and Deffner (1986) confirmed, "led to the premature and erroneous assumption that there existed a specific etiological relationship between alexithymia and psychosomatic illness" (Taylor, p. 726). However, alexithymia is not an "all-or-none phenomenon" (p. 726), with varying degrees of alexithymic characteristics having been observed in individuals with substance abuse disorders, somatoform disorders, psychogenic pain disorders, masked depressions, character neuroses, sexual perversions, narcissistic personality disorders, eating disorders, and posttraumatic stress disorders (Taylor, 1984, 2000).

Research in the medical and psychiatric fields over the past 30 years has broadened the understanding of the construct to "reflect deficits both in the cognitive-experiential component of emotion response systems and at the level of interpersonal regulation of emotion" (Taylor, 2000, p. 135). Taylor described the latest research as

"exploring the relationship between alexithymia and the physiological component of the emotion response system" (p. 135); in other words, neurobiological influences. The findings from neurobiological research and developmental psychology indicated that the cognitive and affective deficits of alexithymia may involve "variations in brain organization as well as faulty patterns of affective interchange during childhood development" (Taylor et al., 1991, p. 157). This latest nuerobiological understanding regarding childhood development is relevant to the validation of the normative male alexithymia construct.

Predecessors to the neurobiological findings regarding the profound influence of early childhood development are Krystal (1979, 1982, 1988a, 1988b, 1990) and McDougall (1974; as cited in Krystal, 1979). Krystal (1982) understood alexithymia as "a characteristic derived through a complex epigenetic process; one intimately related to early object relations and involving the key elements of the self- and object representation" (p. 374). Krystal (1979) differentiated between "a primary or inborn, organically based form, . . . or acquired form of alexithymia" (p. 22). It is the acquired form that is the focus of this research and inherent in the term normative male alexithymia. It is also the acquired form that is etiologically related to psychodynamic considerations, to gender-bifurcated socialized influences on emotional development, and to a chance for improvement (Krystal, 1979). Twenty years later the acquired form is being discussed in Taylor et al.'s (1999) review of recent research examining possible neurobiological influences on the development of the emotional brain. Taylor (2000), Berenbaum and James (1994), and Schaffer (1993) reviewed research that acknowledged that early attachment relationships are associated with the development of alexithymia,

and Taylor stated that "the deficits underlying alexithymia have been attributed, at least in part, to an arrest in affect development during early childhood" (p. 135). He also referred to the impact of early attachment relationships and how those early relationships can affect "the development of the cognitive and neural mechanisms underlying emotional intelligence" (Taylor et al., 1999, p. 339).

It appears that research on the clinical and severe end of the alexithymia continuum support the etiological basis underlying normative male alexithymia on the mild to moderate end of the continuum. The empirical studies cited in Taylor's (2000) clinical review echo William Pollack's (1995) and Pollack and Levant's (1998) research. Pollack, a psychoanaltyic clinical psychologist in the area of men's studies, contended that the abrogation of the early holding environment for boys contributes to the development of normative male alexithymia for males socialized in the Western world. Further support for the men's studies' position is found in neurobiological research cited in LeDoux's (1996) book, *The Emotional Brain*, in which he explored the brain mechanisms underlying emotions. Reviewing LeDoux's research on the emotional brain and other supporting studies that explore emotional intelligence, Taylor et al. (1999) wrote the following:

> We conclude with the proposal that in addition to the influence of temperament, the quality of early attachment relationships is a critical variable. . . . There is accumulating evidence that the emotional interactions between the infant and the caregiver influence not only the development of representational and cognitive capacities, but also the maturation of parts of the brain involved in emotional awareness and emotion regulation. (p. 350)

Taylor et al. cited research by Schore (1994, 1996) that gave evidence that excessive levels of high negative emotional arousal and/or low emotional arousal can create "permanent alterations in the morphological development of the orbitofrontal cortex, . . .

reduc[ing] . . . the capacity of the prefrontal cortex to modulate activity in the amygdala" (p. 350). It is the lifelong socialized expectation of "low emotional arousal" or restricted emotionality for males that men's studies scholars have identified as excessive enough to create a mild alexithymic condition, normative male alexithymia. Levant and Kopecky (1995) viewed a lifetime of restricting the emotional development of boys and men as significant when they identified the phenomenon as a "normal developmental trauma" (p. 133).

An understanding has developed over time that the alexithymia construct varies in severity (Krystal, 1982), and, as Kench and Irwin (2000) stated, "it should be regarded as a dimensional variable rather than as a diagnostic category" (p. 737). "There are no studies in the literature to suggest that the distinction between alexithymics and nonalexithymics is dichotomous" stated Krystal (1988a, p. 308), and it does not present the same picture in every affected person. Understanding alexithymia as a dimensional variable is important to this research because the operational definition of the construct normative male alexithymia is intended to be consistent with the social constructionism approach.

The definition of normative male alexithymia being founded on social constructionism theory allows for change through new learning and hopefully counteracts any tendency to pathologize men. Social constructionism implies that males struggling with normative male alexithymia do not have emotions in a vacuum because they *learn* to give meaning to their context-dependent experiences through social exposure and their level of cognitive developmental capacities (Armon-Jones, 1986, as cited in Saarni, 1999; Colman, 2001; Saarni, 1999). Consistent with this theory, normative male alexithymia is

a socialized area of concern that is highly individualized because each male's emotional development is contingent upon specific contexts, his unique social history, and his current cognitive developmental functioning (Saarni, 1999). New learning can move the condition of alexithymia in either direction on the dimension by strategizing for effective change toward improvement or by facing unfortunate challenges that create an onset or increase in the condition (Carpendale, 1997; Krystal, 1999). The term normative male alexithymia in its translation *no words for emotions* works with the social constructionism view because change is possible by acquiring more words—a lexicon of emotion words—and becoming lexithymic. Consistent with the social constructionism view, there is expected to be a varying degree of remedial success as alexithymic individuals interact with their developmental history, current level of cognitive developmental functioning, sociocultural influences, genetic and neuroanatomical patterns, and neuropsychological and psychodynamic tendencies (Carpendale, 1997; Sifneos, 1983; Taylor et al., 1991).

Whatever the individual profile regarding alexithymia, Levant and Kopecky (1995) suggested a remedial process that involves perceiving biologic sensations that signal the presence of emotions, interpreting those signals, assigning meaning to them, and developing a vocabulary to communicate what lies within the inner self to oneself and to others (Krystal, 1988a; Levant, 1990a, 1990b, 1992, 1994, 1998). Greenberg and Snell's (1997) review of current research on the neurobiology of emotion supported Levant's approach. They recommended the type of educational or therapeutic intervention that creates a connection between the reasoning functions of the cortex with the emotional memories stored in the amygdala, thus establishing more effective and

efficient synaptic links between the two regions of the brain. Their proposal that "early memories are indelible and cannot be erased; . . . thus, overcoming early conditioning is not the result of passive forgetting but instead of new learning" (p. 111) is consistent with social constructionism theory and the desire to uphold and respect the modern man's journey through new learning on the way to optimal emotional functioning.

Repercussions of Traditional Masculinity Ideology on Level of Emotional Awareness

A Lexicon of Emotion Words and Emotional Awareness

Developmentally, one of the crucial tasks of boys and adolescent males is to learn how to integrate cognition and feeling with language-based codes (Greenberg & Snell, 1997). Emotions eventually have meaning for boys through the process of acquiring a language of emotion words to describe their own affective experiences. Because language creates their emotional and social reality, the use of a lexicon of feeling words can dynamically create understanding as they try to make sense of their emotional experiences (Lane, 2000; Saarni, 1999; Stoudemire, 1991). Using "language-as-meaning-shaping-tool" (p. 133), explained Saarni, is the way that children give their "unique emotional *thumbprint* to the patterns that are emotionally salient for them" (p. 133). "The vague and mixed emotions of early childhood continue to 'develop, mix, combine, differentiate, [and] coalesce' into their potential richness throughout childhood and latency as the richness and precision of language continue to develop" (Seton, 1965; as cited in Krystal, 1988a, p. 235). However the verbalization of affect does lag behind other linguistic skills because emotions must be considerably differentiated before they are specific enough to be verbalized.

When the differentiation and verbalization of emotions is not developing appropriately, desomatization (differentiation of body sensations) is delayed or remains unresolved (Krystal, 1988a, 1998b). What this means for boys and men who are not socialized to verbalize their emotions is that the developmental process of emotional differentiation is truncated, and, consequently, an adequate lexicon of emotion words is not developed. In turn, they are cognitively delayed in being able to give meaning to their bodily sensations and understand those sensations as emotions. "A limited subjective awareness and cognitive processing of emotions," stated Barsky and Klerman (1983; as cited in Taylor, 1994), "leads to the amplification and misinterpretation of somatic sensations" (p. 63). In other words, a consequence for males who are not proficient at perceiving, communicating, and labeling their emotions is that they have a decreased ability to manage their emotional reactions and impulses. The verbal labeling of bodily sensations that represent emotions can serve as a mediator for males between internal desires and behavioral action powerfully enabling them to exercise emotional self-control as well as regulating the intensity of their nonverbal emotional expressions (Greenberg & Snell, 1997).

There is a crucial relationship between bodily sensations, emotional awareness, cognition, language, and behavior that is inescapable. Language officiates as an "internal executive function" (p. 105), allowing men to become cognitively aware of emotions and therefore guided by them. In summary, language and cognition play a key role in reducing emotional and physiological arousal in men (Brody & Hall, 1993; Greenberg & Snell, 1997; Lane, 1998; Lewis, 1993).

Krystal (1988a) outlined another consequence of undifferentiated emotions and an underdeveloped lexicon of feeling words when he referred to children who are unable to verbalize their emotions as developing "organismic distress" (p. 46). Organismic distress refers to the somatization of emotional states. He identified this type of distress as having the potential of becoming chronic in a developing boy, possibly interfering with his emotional readiness to engage in the separation-individuation process with his mother. Men's studies' scholars acknowledge the significance of the separation-individuation process regarding the socialization of boys, and this process is addressed by the developmental psychologists Chodorow (1978), Pollack (1998c), and Baumrind (1980).

Levant (1994) described the impact of gender-bifurcated language development for boys and men. He stated that "pretty much from the moment a male is born, he begins absorbing the message imparted by his parents, peers, and society that he isn't supposed to feel or express sadness, fear, tenderness, vulnerability, or much of any other emotion" (p. 19). By the time many boys reach adulthood they are emotionally numb, they are unable to identify the bodily changes that signify the presence of an emotional state, and they are without the language needed to communicate their distress. Therefore, the unevaluated emotional state is not given meaning and remains as unexplained physical sensations that are sometimes translated into poor coping strategies (Krystal, 1988a; Levant, 1992a, 1994, 1995a; Levant & Kopecky, 1995; Levant & Pollack, 1995; Lewis, 1993; Saarni, 1979, 1999). This undeveloped aspect of a man's emotional awareness and the associated deficit in language skills effectively marginalize his emotional experiences and prevent him from functioning optimally in relationships (Buck, 1981; Gilligan, 1982; Krystal, 1988a). Men's sex-role socialization is viewed by many researchers as partly

responsible for these deficits and for the stress reaction of humiliated fury that can occur as shameful awareness of the deficits turns into rage (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995; Krugman, 1998; Lewis, 1992; Osherson, 1992). An inadequate lexicon of feeling words can effectively render a man without direction in the face of emotional distress, without depth in the pursuit of intimacy, and generally emotionally isolated living on the periphery of family life (Levant & Pollack, 1995). As a coping strategy many men learn to use their voice "to cover rather than convey [their] inner world" (Gilligan, 1982, p. xx), greatly jeopardizing all social relations because of a diffused sense of the inner self.

The absence of a range of differentiating emotion words in an individual's vocabulary strongly suggests a low level of emotional awareness for self, but it also suggests a corresponding deficiency in being able to appreciate and relate to the emotional experience of others (Lane & Schwartz, 1987). Emotion language facilitates emotional processes that literally shape a man's social relations (Buck, 1981; Saarni, 1999). Saarni explained that individuals "who minimize emotional experience . . . may have relationships that seem superficial or full of misunderstanding, for without ready access to a language of emotion, we are unable to talk about our emotional experiences with others and visa versa" (p. 134). Not having access to a language of emotion is tantamount to a man's giving up on his relationships, and, as Gilligan (1982) explained, "to give up . . . voice is to give up on relationship and also to give up all that goes with making a choice" (p. xvii). Giving up voice, relationship, and choice is precisely the prescription for men who endorse traditional masculinity ideology, for being masculine means being separate and looking to an intimate partner "to feel, express, and manage

their emotions, and yet, . . . when their partners come close, an unconscious need for self-sufficiency kicks in and they distance" (Levant & Kopecky, 1995, p. 20). Such is the case for men lacking adequate language skills. They tend to be emotionally distant from others, and they tend to focus on external thinking as a replacement for the emotions they do not feel. In Horney's (1952/1991) words, such a man

> does not feel that he despises himself, but he is aware of despising others, or being despised by them. His own wishes and his own compulsive demands on himself fade out and are replaced by the real or imagined expectations of others. . . . He is what others think of him, . . . delegating . . . his rights to others. (p. 4)

Avoiding this dysfunctional pattern requires that men and boys be socialized to develop a lexicon of feeling words that will provide an orientation for their personal relationships.

Relationships generally require making complex appraisals of multifaceted situations when more than one emotion is experienced; this ability is fundamental to mature emotional competence in social, intimate, and business situations (Lane & Schwartz, 1987). It follows that the ability to discern, empathize, and understand another's emotions is an important skill for creating an emotional climate conducive to any situation requiring information processing and problem solving. In the broader application, this is an essential skill in the world of business (Saarni, 1999). "Thinking and feeling are part of the same system" (p. 250), stated Haviland-Jones, Gebelt, and Stapley (1997). "In terms of work, emotional skills are known to be related to ability to do well in any position that requires human interaction" (p. 249). Human interaction and the financial well-being of any business and its productivity are dependent on employees' sustained emotional competency necessary for the prevention of stress-related illnesses such as depression. In Canada alone it is estimated that "sixteen billion dollars [in productivity] is being lost every year as a result of undiagnosed and untreated

depression," reported Tillson (2001) from the findings of an international, nonprofit network of business, health, and education leaders called the Business and Economic Roundtable on Mental Health. To that can be added the cost of reduced productivity because of *diagnosed* depression and stress at $6 billion per year (Thorn, 2001). These figures provide a convincing moral and business case for addressing employees' emotional skills. The returns on investment are appealing. For every dollar invested in the area of emotional competency to deal with issues such as depression, stress, and balancing work and home life, there is an estimated six-fold return in increased business productivity and morale (*Canadian National Wellness Survey Report*, 2001).

Further to the case of enhancing emotional health and competence at work and socially, Greenberg and Snell (1997) identified the development of emotion language as significant, providing a means to "symbolize one's attitudes toward others, [and to] debate and act on problems" (p. 105). It is evident that any culture that tends to socialize their males to be low in emotional awareness and to be limited in their range of emotion language skills also creates a disadvantage for them in their business and personal relationships. The repercussions of normative male alexithymia are far reaching.

Capacity for Empathy

Having a capacity for empathy requires an ability to feel with others. It is defined as being able "to understand and enter into another person's feelings and emotions or to experience something from the other person's point of view" (Colman, 2001, p. 241). Empathy is an advanced cognitive skill that *builds* on an individual's ability to be emotionally self-aware as subjective emotional awareness of one's self must be adequately developed in order to experience concern for another's needs (Saarni, 1999).

Saarni highlighted a capacity for empathy as being "one of the most significant components for promoting social bonds among people and fostering prosocial behavior" (p. 162). However, there is a growing body of research suggesting that gender-bifurcated socialization decreases a male's chance of developing subjective emotional awareness and, therefore, the skills necessary for empathic communication. Boys who are socialized according to the traditional male code are likely to be less able to experience their vulnerable feelings than are girls, thus affecting their capacity to form supportive relationships through empathic communication (Baumrind, 1980; Bergman, 1995; Fabes & Martin, 1991; Stayer, 1989; Tannen, 1990; Zeman & Shipman, 1998). Supportive relationships and a capacity for empathy require a permeable self-other boundary and the ability to imagine the feelings of another's emotional experience. A richness of the knowledge of one's own emotional experience is also required, thus allowing for resonance and emotional arousal between another's feelings and one's own (Krystal, 1999; Lane & Schwartz, 1987). It is the *emotional arousal* aspect of the empathic response that is critical for recruiting genuine rather than manipulative prosocial behavior. Without the emotional arousal component, one could conceivably demonstrate emotional competence in a Machiavellian manner with insincere social success (Goleman, 1995; Saarni, 1997, 1999; Strayer, 1987).

From a developmental perspective, the origins of a capacity for empathy are located in the early attachment relationship between parent and infant. The love between parent and infant is the essential relationship in which concern for another's well-being and empathy are forged and subsequently generalized beyond the parent-child dyad (Goleman, 1995; Krystal, 1999; Lane & Schwartz, 1987; Saarni, 1999; Zahn-Waxler,

1991, as cited in Saarni, 1999). Without an empathetic and positive relationship with their parent, children develop an inadequate sense of their inner self accompanied by low emotional awareness. Low emotional awareness, which is a significant contributor to a lack of empathy, is considered to be a prominent factor in the rationale for adolescents to commit delinquent acts (Bandura, 1991; Gibbs, 1991; Staub, 1991; all as cited in Saarni, 1999). The same criterion applies to adults. As Goleman pointed out, those who commit crimes such as sexual assault and family violence have a "psychological fault line" (p. 106), the basis of which lies in a lack of a capacity for empathy.

Although there are mixed findings regarding gender differences for empathy (Brody, 1985; Brody & Hall, 1993; Eisenberg & Lennon, 1983; Hall, 1978; Haviland & Malatesta, 1981; Hoffman & Levine, 1976), most researchers supported the notion that "gender differences in emotional functioning are undoubtedly partly rooted in peer and family socialization" (Brody & Hall, 1993, p. 457). Modeling seemed to be a key socializing agent in Eisenberg, Fabes, Schaller, Carlo, and Miller's (1991) socialization study, which found that family relations do assist in developing a capacity for empathy: Empathetic mothers tend to produce empathetic daughters, and empathetic fathers tend to produce empathetic sons. This influence can be felt as early as age four. Baumrind (1980) found that boys by age four were "less friendly, cooperative, empathetic, and self-controlled than the girls" (p. 643); and Strayer (1987) found that, while watching video scenarios, girls more often reported sadness and fear, whereas boys more often reported angry responses. To the extent that boys feel compelled to channel their vulnerable feelings through an expression of anger and enact a traditional male role through posturing and restricted emotionality, they will lack in their ability to have a cognitive

awareness of and affective response to the internal states of others (Krystal, 1999; Lane & Schwartz, 1987; Levant, 1998).

Abrogation of the Early Holding Environment

It is expected that a man's capacity for empathy may be significantly affected by the abrogation of his early holding environment. Examining the traditional male code and its expectations, Bergman (1995) viewed the socialization of boys to turn away from the process of connection with their mothers early in their life as core to their difficulties in developing a capacity for empathy. He explained that

> a boy is taught to become an agent of disconnection. The break is not only from connection, from mutual authenticity, but also a break from *being in the process* with a person, who happens to be a woman, and mother at that. . . . This turning-away means that the boy never really learns how to do it, how to be in the process with another and grow. (p. 74)

If the boy's parents, and especially his mother, endorse controlling the son's display of vulnerable emotions, the boy is very likely to withdraw or show personal distress rather than empathy upon witnessing another's need for support (Eisenberg et al., 1991). As a boy turns to his father to be a role model for empathetic responding, he often encounters an adult male who is himself trying to recover from the same loss of connection in his own childhood. Both father and son struggle to learn to be emotionally self-aware and to be in relationship with others by listening and responding with empathy (Baumrind, 1980; Bergman, 1995; Gordon & Meth, 1990; Greenson, 1968; Levant, 1992a; Pollack, 1998c).

The repercussions of withdrawing the early holding environment are manifested in several ways. Men who have grown up in environments in which they did not feel safe or in which they were not permitted to express their feelings directly and openly may be

at an increased risk of lacking empathetic feelings and developing alexithymic characteristics (Berenbaum & James, 1994; Lumley, Mader, Gramzow, & Papineau, 1996). Any attempt to prevent boys from revealing their own anxious or hurt feelings actually encourages them to continually strive to meet some standard of emotional stoicism. Consequently, when they encounter an emotionally charged situation in which someone requires help or understanding, a boy socialized to be stoic does not engage emotionally and tends to experience personal distress and/or avoid the person in need. Conversely, when children, and especially boys, are socialized to experience and express their vulnerable emotions, they are more likely to provide comfort and assistance in response to their inner feelings of empathy (Eisenberg et al., 1991; Eisenberg et al., 1997).

Action Empathy as a Form of Emotional Empathy

Levant's (1992a, 1995b, 1997, 1998) proposal that the traditional masculine code be reconstructed is central to the development of emotional competency and the development of empathy in males. Gender-bifurcated socialization requires that, from the moment that a male is born, the socialization process be in place to discourage a boy from feeling or expressing any of his vulnerable emotions (Buck, 1981; Haviland & Malatesta, 1981). Levant and Kopecky (1995) explained that

> the emotions most forbidden to males fall into one of two categories. The first is vulnerable emotions such as anxiety, fear, sadness, and humiliation, which young males learn to transform into aggression and anger. The second is caring emotions such as warmth and affection, for which young males are permitted no outlet at all. Not by other males that is. (p. 238)

It is essential that males be socialized to be more open to their own emotions because this skill is the prerequisite for being able to read the emotions of others (Goleman, 1995;

Lane & Schwartz, 1987). Krystal (1990) advised that, if a male lacks empathy and relies solely on reason to supplement his low emotional awareness, "a gigantic self-healing" (p. 247) is required for this individual to overcome his limitations. He stated that "reason is a good servant but a poor master; the mildest and most common earmark of this situation is the loss of empathy with the world, which includes treating one's self like a robot" (p. 230).

Levant (1998) recommended a psychoeducational approach to therapy for men having difficulty identifying and communicating their vulnerable emotions. He contended that having the ability to perceive, understand, and communicate vulnerable emotions is essential to the development of empathic feelings and to the maintenance of healthy, supportive relationships. In his view, the ability to be supportive in relationships involves learning the skills of nurturing—being sensitive to the needs of others, acting out concern with emotional empathy, and speaking with an empathetic voice (Levant, 1992a).

Levant's (1998) treatment approach for assisting men to access and develop their capacity for emotional empathy evolved from Henry Krystal's (1988a) "technical modifications" (p. 318) for treating mild to moderate alexithymia. Part of his approach is to reframe the male tendency to respond with action, logical thinking, problem solving, or verbal action responses rather than with emotion or emotion words. He named this tendency *action empathy* and considered it to be a variant of the skill of emotional empathy.

Several studies have indicated that boys often develop a skill in the gymnasiums and playing fields to anticipate a teammate's or opponent's style of play, weaknesses, and strengths (Brody & Hall, 1993; Eagly & Steffen, 1986; Eisenberg & Lennon, 1983;

Hoffman & Levine, 1976). It was this skill, action empathy, that Levant identified in his male clients and defined as "an ability to see things from another person's point of view, and predict what they will, or should, *do*" (p. 41). He explained to his clients how emotional empathy differs from action empathy in that it is the ability to gather information about how another person *feels* for the sole purpose of helping them. Action empathy differs in that it involves gathering information about what another person will *do* for the sole purpose of achieving one's own objectives—which at times may include prosocial behavior.

Prosocial, self-interested behavior and prosocial, genuinely altruistic behavior are viewed by some researchers as an integral component of empathy (Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce, & Neuberg, 1997; Eisenberg & Miller, 1987; both as cited in Saarni, 1999). Including prosocial behavior as part of the measurement of empathic responses is contentious but has been used when the assessment of empathy is linked with caring or helping behavior. Larger gender differences are found when self-report measures are used to assess empathic responsiveness, but gender differences are inconsistent when actual prosocial behavior is examined (Eisenberg & Lennon, 1983; Hoffman & Levine, 1976). "Indeed, helping strangers has been found to be more frequent among males," stated Saarni (1999), "but women do more long-term nurturing and helping of others in close relationships" (p. 183).

Whether or not prosocial behavior is taken into account, it is a genuinely empathetic response through helping, listening, comforting, or simply sharing that creates a connection between people. Perpetuating a traditional masculinity ideology that restricts emotional experience and the richness of being in relationship through empathic

responding works against the creation of satisfying intimate and family relationships and encourages emotional isolation for men (Gordon & Meth, 1990). "The genetic development of affects," stated Krystal (1999), "hinges on the availability of empathetic caring, and a responsive holding environment early in life" (p. 6) and overcoming this early conditioning is not accomplished by passive forgetting and living on the periphery of family life, but instead by new learning (Greenberg & Snell, 1997; O'Neil, 1981, 1982).

Capacity for Emotional Intimacy

Emotional intimacy involves having a capacity for unfeigned, authentic emotional expressiveness with a specific individual (Saarni, 1999). Intimacy itself is defined with words such as "close," "deep," "private," "personal," and "warm" (Webster, 1997); and connecting with another person at this level requires that both participants have developed an awareness of their internal subjective emotional experience in order to express their emotions and experience emotional intimacy. As well, the participants in the emotional exchange must be able to separate their inner subjective emotional experience from their observable expressive behavior because true sharing of emotional intimacy is often incongruent with one's "self-presentation strategies" (Saarni, 1999, p. 187). Indeed, self-presentation strategies begin to develop in children as early as the preschool years when they develop the ability to separate their "inner" emotional state from their "outer" emotional expression and behavior. How children decide what inner states are safe and socially appropriate to share with others is influenced by many factors, one of which is sex-role socialization through peer-group and family interactions (Buck, 1981; Saarni, 2000; Wood et al., 1980; Zeman & Shipman, 1998).

In their review of sex differences in emotional development, Brody and Hall (1993) contended that girls are socialized to express happiness, shame, fear, and warmth more often and with more intensity than are boys through facial expressions and nonverbal behaviors and through using emotion-laden language. By adolescence, girls may have experienced both positive and negative emotions more intensely than boys have. In contrast, they found that boys were socialized to attend more to the expression of anger, aggression, pride, and contempt and that these emotions were most often expressed through overt action and possibly through an increase in their physiology (heart rate, skin conductance, and adrenaline). The socialization of boys to funnel their caring and vulnerable emotions through aggression and anger has lifelong implications for the quality of their intimate relationships (Fischer & Good, 1997; Gordon & Allen, 1990; Gordon & Meth, 1990).

Using aggression and anger in place of expressing the nuances of other feelings can freeze male development at a relatively low level of emotional functioning, thus not allowing the continued differentiation of emotions to evolve to its uppermost level. The truncation of this developmental process prevents males at any age from attaining their maximum level of emotional maturity and men in adult life from sharing themselves to an optimum level in their intimate relationships (Saarni, 2000). Using anger and aggression as their primary emotions may help men to defend against experiencing their more fragile vulnerable emotions that are essential for intimacy; however, their personal needs for love do not disappear (Chodorow, 1978).

Inexperience at disclosing vulnerable feelings in combination with the use of anger and aggression creates a perception of many males as powerful and separate

(Gilligan, 1982; Levant, 1995a; Osherson, 1992). The perception of being powerful and separate can potentially sabotage many men's needs for relational connectedness, thus leaving them feeling emotionally isolated from other people and living on the emotional periphery of their family life. The experience of emotional intimacy—the authentic sharing of one's internal subjective emotional experience—becomes the critical experience to establish connection with others, a skill that many men have not learned (Gilligan, 1982; Saarni, 2000). Gilligan stated:

> The experience of relationship brings an end to isolation, which otherwise hardens into indifference, [and] an absence of active concern for others, though perhaps a willingness to respect their rights. For this reason, intimacy is the transformative experience for men. (p. 163)

Intimacy may be the transformative experience for men, but without a socialization process that promotes the recognition and expression of vulnerable emotions, many men will be handicapped in their repertoire of skills necessary for an emotional, intimate exchange.

Relational Dread

All too often male needs for love and being in relationship are overridden by a sense of relational dread (Bergman, 1995; Osherson, 1992). Bergman wrote about the male tendency not to enjoy the "back-and-forth movement, continuity, interchange, flow, process, bringing out others, mutuality, or dialogue as opposed to debate" (p. 80) that can occur when invited to engage in a relational moment. Instead, for many men there can be "a deep sense of dread, a visceral sense, literally in the gut or heart" (p. 81) that makes an invitation to be in relationship seem like a "demand" (p. 81) and a sense of "urgency and curiosity" (p. 81) in the relationship to be mistaken for a personal criticism. Rather than

entering into the depths and richness of a relationship, the masculine tendency is to deflect the energy with jokes, make references to physicality, withdraw, be nice, be silent, be angry, or shift the focus elsewhere in an effort to do something to prevent the process of connection (Bergman).

William Pollack (1998c) defined the hesitancy to be in relationship as "defensive autonomy" (p. 21). In his view, the origins of the deeply repressed need to protect oneself from being in relationship arise from the premature loss of the early relational bond with the mother. He contended that the socialized expectation for young boys to break the relational connection with their mother in order to subscribe to the traditional male code is a profound loss for a male child. Furthermore, the developmental shift away from close connection with the mother is not "based upon a biological bedrock," according to Pollack, but occurs "as a result of a fault in our child-rearing systems" (p. 19). He described it as "a separation from the most cherished, admired, and loved object in his [the boy's] life—at what would be a phase inappropriate time from the point of view of girls' development. . . . Girl siblings are allowed to remain connected " (p. 19). Later, in adult life, intimate cross-gender relationships are compromised as the deeply repressed "unspeakable hurt or premature separation" (p. 20) from the mother is reawakened during the attempt at emotional intimacy with a woman. Misunderstandings erupt as the man denies his female partner a mutually empathetic response in his fear and dread of being in a close relationship (Pollack, 1998b).

Chodorow (1978) summed up her theory of men's dread of women when she stated that "too much of mother results from the relative absence of the father and nearly exclusive maternal care provided by the women isolated in a nuclear household. It creates

men's resentment and dread of women" (p. 185). At first glance it may seem that Chodorow's theory contradicts Pollack's (1998b), when actually "too much of mother" can occur in a functional sense while there is a simultaneous loss of close connection with her. Her theory resonates with Pollack's position in four ways. Both referred to the devaluing of the feminine contribution to relationships, to the father's emotional and/or physical unavailability in the family, to the father's socialized inability to assume a nurturant role, and to the fact that relational dread is a socialized phenomenon. "A man's dread is the result of 'negative learnings,' over and over again, about the process of relationship," stated Bergman (1995, p. 82).

Research on the neurobiology of emotions supported Bergman's (1995) and Pollack's (1998b) theory regarding the premature loss of a bond with the mother as the basis for relational dread in adulthood. LeDoux (1996) explained that when a powerful emotion is experienced—the loss of the bond with mother—the amygdala imprints the memory of that emotion with an added degree of strength and stores it outside of consciousness. That memory continues to have an impact on an individual's current adult functioning, in this case in the form of relational dread, without the individual ever having conscious awareness of the original deprivation or trauma. In their discussion of LeDoux's research, Greenberg and Snell (1997) expanded this point, making it relevant to the issue of relational dread: "It is believed that many early childhood experiences, particularly emotionally charged ones, such as the infant-caregiver relationship, may exert a long-term impact on this mechanism [the amygdala]" (p. 101). The many, early, emotionally charged childhood experiences equate to the harmful 'negative learnings over and over again' to which Pollack (1998b) referred.

Pollack (1998b) and Greenberg and Snell (1997) identified the role that traditional socialization plays in encouraging boys to break the process of relational connection with their mother. Boys make this break to prove their unfolding manhood and simultaneously restrict any awareness of their vulnerable emotions by funneling them through the expression of anger and aggression. It is feasible for a boy to develop, in Brooks and Silverstein's (1995) words, "a coherent sense of himself as masculine, *and at the same time remain intimately attached to his mother*, if the masculine gender role were redefined to be less restricted and less psychologically dysfunctional" (p. 308). One of the dysfunctional consequences of a restrictive definition of masculinity is that many males do experience difficulties in maintaining successful, emotionally intimate, cross-gender, adult relationships.

Bergman (1995) proposed a description of the ongoing confusion, fear, and self-talk that many men experience upon entering an emotionally connected exchange with their partners that he termed *relational dread*. Relational dread results from a man's intention to navigate through an intimate emotional exchange and surface from it feeling in charge of himself, competent, and a successful contributor, but instead finding himself feeling blocked, lost, worthless, incompetent, and guilty and struggling with an internal sense of dread. The burgeoning lack of self-efficacy (relational dread) that a man can experience in an adult intimate relationship stems from a socialization process that discourages him from developing an ability to be emotionally connected to his inner self and to communicate from that center. Inevitably, the more out of touch he is with his own emotions or center, the more elevated will be his fear of intimacy and his experience of relational dread (Levant, 1995a). Bergman proposed the following internal monologue

complete with unexpressed fears that could occur as a man with these limitations attempts to participate in an emotional exchange with his partner:

1. Inevitability of disaster: Nothing good can come of my going into this; it's just a question of how bad it will be before it's over.
2. Timelessness: It will never be over; an eternity would be too brief.
3. Damage: The damage will be immense, and irreparable.
4. Closeness: The closer I feel to the woman—even, the more I love her—the more intense my dread becomes.
5. Precariousness: Even if it starts to dissipate and clear and feel better, it can turn at any moment back to dread, betraying me.
6. Process: It is a shifting time-warp terrain, a movement in relationship with few fixed landmarks. . . . I can't find a firm foothold in myself. . . .
7. Guilt: I am not enough. I have not been enough in these relationships before, I feel I have let women down all along, and I am guilty about that.
8. Denial and fear of aggression: If I am trapped, pushed too far, and unable to withdraw or leave, I might panic and get violent and hurt someone . . . either by disconnecting or by taking physical action. . . . I'd better leave or be nice. . . .
9. Incompetence and shame: . . . I have been taught that I have to be competent in the world. . . . She is better at this than I am, verbally and relationally— . . . she knows the territory; . . . she seems to know *me* better that I know myself. . . . I'm ashamed at my incompetence—. . . I ought to be able to take action. . . . I have to be accurate. . . .
10. Paralysis: . . . My dread is redoubled. Trying to fix things, under the pressure of feeling I *have* to fix things, fast, I fumble things even more. (pp. 82-83)

The sense of enduring humiliation evident in Bergman's (1995) outline of the experiential aspects of relational dread presents a formidable barrier for men experiencing this difficulty to develop emotional self-efficacy (Saarni, 1997). Relational dread contributes to the breakdown of relationships between husband and wife, and parent and child, and can be considered part of the motivation to escape the threat of emotional relationships through various destructive means. Saarni believed that, for men to successfully overcome emotional blocks in relationships, there is a need to learn the skills of emotional competency that will enhance their resilience for self-regulation and their "tolerance of negative emotions, including aversive self-conscious emotions"

(p. 40). A continued examination of the impact of the emotional socialization of boys into the traditional male code and a corresponding adjustment in our child-rearing systems are warranted to assist in this process. (Asher & Rose, 1997; Brenner & Salovey, 1997; Buck, 1981; Eisenberg et al., 1991; Goleman, 1995; Krystal, 1988a; Levant & Kopecky, 1995; Saarni, 2000).

Heightened Physiological Responses

Intimate relationships will undoubtedly be negatively impacted if the male partner experiences relational dread when encountering situations requiring an emotional response. Researchers on a related track described the impact of heightened physiological responses in men who have difficulty communicating their feelings in intimate relationships and who have been experiencing relational dread (Buck, 1977, 1981; Buck, Miller, & Caul, 1974; Gottman, 1989; Gottman et al., 1995; Gottman & Levenson, 1988; Krystal, 1999; Levant, 1995a; Lewis, 1993; Osherson, 1992). A heightened physiological response is often referred to as high ANS (autonomic nervous system) activity, and the more disconnected a man is from his feelings, the more likely he will experience high ANS in emotional situations (Buck, 1981; Krystal, 1999; Taylor, 2000).

Autonomic nervous system activity can be calculated by measuring an increase in heart rate, pulse transit time to the finger, skin conductance, and/or general somatic activity in the form of headaches, a queasy stomach, gastrointestinal difficulties, or muscle tightness in the chest and throat (Gottman, 1989; Gottman et al., 1995; Gottman & Levenson, 1986, 1988; Levant, 1995b; Stoudemire, 1991). Generally, a man is not aware of an increase in his heart rate, pulse transit time, or skin conductance, and he automatically reacts to the physiological sensations by withdrawing from an emotionally

stimulating personal interaction. Withdrawal can take the form of clamming up, stonewalling, exiting, or seeking to control his partner through irritation, insults, or intimidation (Gottman & Levenson, 1986; Levant & Kopecky, 1995). Either way, stated Osherson (1992), "silence is one language of shame; anger is another" (p. 56). For men who have difficulty identifying and communicating their emotions, the intent of withdrawing or aggressing is sometimes an unconscious effort to escape the physiological discomfort aroused by an emotionally close relationship or an emotionally conflictual situation, thereby reducing an elevated ANS response.

The effort to escape physiological discomfort in this manner is an understandable attempt to return the body to a state of equilibrium; however, this effort actually sabotages the man's personal needs for emotional closeness and connection and places the intimate relationship in jeopardy (Gottman, 1994; Gottman & Levenson, 1986, 1989). "Women don't realize that their bids for emotionally self-revelatory communication throw men into this internal struggle," Levant and Kopecky (1995) stated. "The more perfect a product a man is of traditional male upbringing—that is, the more alexithymic he is—the more disconnected he is from the physical symptoms of distress and from the emotions causing them" (p. 279). This disconnection begins very early in life, according to Buck (1977, 1981), who found that boys, but not girls, in our culture between the ages of 4 and 6 have already begun to mask and inhibit their expressive responses to emotions. His research suggested that the male tendency not to be expressive is based on social learning and that males tend to internalize their emotional responses, thus creating a high ANS response, whereas females tend to externalize their emotional responses.

Other researchers used alternative terms to describe elevated physiological response in men, the subsequent withdrawal, and the consequent jeopardizing of their intimate relationships. Buck (1981) discussed the *internalizing mode of response* accompanied by an elevated ANS. Osherson (1992) and Gottman (1994) referred to *emotional flooding*. Osherson described this as "the feeling of being overwhelmed or becoming fragmented in the face of powerful feelings that threaten to swamp the self. The bottom line is a feeling of defect" (p. 46). Krystal (1979) wrote about individuals who block the pain by "ignoring the body's signs and the mind's distress signals" (p. 19), "*freezing* in stressful situations" (Krystal, 1999, p. 11) and "becoming color blind to feelings" (p. 15). Men who are unable to identify the sensation of affect in their bodies become "like a rock or an island" (Krystal, 1982, p. 357) with an "overemphasis of sensory perceptions in the place of reflective self-awareness" (p. 357).

Lane and Schwartz (1987) developed a scale to measure the cognitive-affective aspect of emotional awareness that also identifies the level of emotional awareness most likely to be associated with an elevated ANS. Their model of five levels of cognitive emotional development identifies the sensorimotor reflexive level, level 1, as the lowest level of emotional functioning. It is at this level that a male is expected to experience involuntary motor arousal accompanied by emotional arousal, autonomic and neuroendocrine changes, and automatic facial expressions. For a male functioning at this level, any conscious experience of emotion would be global, embodying his whole person and consisting of only body sensations, with a low level of cognitive-emotional awareness. His interpersonal relations would generally be strained and accompanied by elevated levels of autonomic nervous system activity.

The above references weave together understandings of relational dread, alexithymia, normative male alexithymia, intimacy, and high physiological arousal that are highly interrelated. The interrelating thread contains the message that as the capacity for emotional awareness and self-regulation increases, so does the capacity to adapt successfully to a variety of emotional stimuli and to recognize others' needs as different from one's own. Through these growing competencies, a foundation for developing intimate relationships is laid (Lane & Schwartz, 1987; Saarni, 2000). "A man who can state his needs is such a relief," stated Osherson (1992), and the ability to state those needs in an intimate relationship will be directly affected by the male role expectations that a man endorses (Levant & Brooks, 1997; Levant & Pollack, 1995).

The Socialization of Dark Side Behaviors

Male dark side behaviors are understood by the men's studies perspective and outlined by Brooks and Silverstein, (1995) and others (Lisak, 1998; Mooney, 1998) as strategies "for maintaining male entitlement and privilege" (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995, p. 306). The description of these behaviors is not intended to contribute to the skewed negative view of traditional masculinity that resembles "male bashing" (Farrell, 1986, p. 281), but rather to assist in investigating the depth and breadth of the ramifications of oversocialization to normative masculinity. Some examples of dark side behaviors are as follows:

1. violence—in the form of physical and psychological aggression to maintain control over others—a tactic that is sanctioned by the traditional male code (Baumrind, 1980; Brooks & Silverstein, 1995; Levant, 1995b; Lisak, 1998; Mooney, 1998; O'Neil et al., 1995).

2. misogyny—encouraging the oppression of women and "disguised as a noble desire to protect them" (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995, p. 306);
3. relationship dysfunctions—"shortcomings as nurturers and emotional communicators" (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995, p. 293; see also Berman, 1980);
4. alcohol and substance abuse—"largely a male problem, . . . a product of differential gender socialization" (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995, p. 289; see also Finn, Martin, & Pihl, 1987);
5. sexual excess and misconduct—male sexual socialization encourages casual, nonrelational sex (Goldberg, 1979; Levant & Brooks, 1997; O'Neil et al., 1995); and
6. high risk behaviors—"males externalize distress . . . [and] take very poor care of themselves" (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995, p. 289).

The above-stated behaviors when carried out deliberately differ from the honest struggles and mistakes of men who are in the process of learning to connect with self and others. They differ in tone and intent. Brooks and Silverstein supported this distinction by naming two categories: "acts of commission—for example, violence, sexual abuse and sexual harassment, substance abuse, and self-destructive behavior" (p. 281) and "acts of omission—for example, relationship inadequacies, absent fathering, and social-emotional withdrawal" (p. 281). However, Brooks and Silverstein did implicate the larger culture of Western males and not just offender males in the examination of dark side behaviors. In order to intervene in a proactive and preventative fashion rather than using the limited intervention of rehabilitation, they focused away from "individual *deviancy*" (p. 314) and onto "gender-based value conflicts [that exist] in *all* men" (p. 315). Pleck (1981, 1995)

supported their view and acknowledged that dark side behaviors evolve from gender role strain in Western culture and that all men are exposed to gender role strain in one way or another at numerous times throughout their lifetime. Gender role strain is considered to be the result of cultural pressures on men to conform to impossible gender role norms. Krystal (1990) referred to dark side behaviors as "knee-jerk responses" (p. 230) and recommended that men who endeavor to keep their affective responses within a bearable range of intensity have a better chance of optimal responding in relationships. He identified learning to recognize and name feelings, a skill not common to men, as pivotal to overcoming knee-jerk responses and explained that "when affect tolerance is poor, all these feelings [shame, guilt, and helplessness] have to be warded off and replaced by rage" (Krystal, 1988, p. 236).

Being able to name feelings is one of the competencies assessed by Lane and Schwartz's (1987) direct performance measure, the Levels of Emotional Awareness Scale (LEAS). Repetitive of Krystal's position, Lane, Sechrest, and Reidel (1998) stated that the LEAS was "derived from a theory that attempted to explain how putting feelings into words could drive emotional development" (p. 378). Men struggling with dark side behaviors generally have minimal emotional development and low emotional awareness and would tend to register at the lower end of the developmental continuum, level 1 or level 2 on the LEAS. Having low emotional awareness, these men would also likely have difficulty expressing their tension verbally and would be inclined to repress their hostility, to express it in terms of actions that become destructive to themselves and the people with whom they live, or to express it through negative emotionality (Krystal, 1979, 1982, 1988a, 1999; Levant, 1995b; Ruesch, 1948; Taylor, 1994).

The inability to verbalize tension and name feelings can be attributed, at least in part, to the traditional socialization of males and the consequent development of dark side behaviors. The traditional socialization of males, stated Levant (1995b), "overemphasizes the expression of anger through acts of aggression, and underemphasizes the ability to identify and express vulnerable and caring emotions" (p. 96), encouraging the prevalence of destructive behaviors in men. In support of Levant's position, Lane (2000) stated that "greater emotional awareness is associated with greater self-reported impulse control" (p. 176), and Feldman Barrett et al. (2000) found lower levels of emotional awareness for men compared to those for women. Male participants from seven different samples scored lower on the level of emotional expression scale than did the female participants even when the effect of verbal intelligence was controlled. Pertinent to this topic, traditional masculinity ideology may be shown to be a significant predictor of low emotional awareness. The new psychology of men views low emotional awareness as a product of normative masculine socialization in Western patriarchal culture that encourages dark side behaviors such as the devaluation of women, the glorification of violence, and the restriction of emotional nurturing (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995; Levant, 1995b; Lisak, 1998).

The Impact of Traditional Ideologies on Men's Health

Male gender-role training requires that men be emotionally inexpressive, show no physical inadequacies, maintain superiority over women, always think rationally and logically, and show no inadequacies in the areas of work and sexual performance (Eisler, 1995). A strong commitment to these aspects of masculinity may have deleterious health consequences as there are numerous studies indicating that psychological distress and

physical illness may be related to the quality of men's roles (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995; Levant 1990a, 1990b, 1995a; O'Neil et al., 1995; Pollack, 1998a). Levant and Kopecky (1995) cited Dr. Dean Ornish's (1990) book on reversing heart disease: "*Anything that promotes a sense of isolation leads to chronic stress and, often, to illnesses like heart disease*. Conversely, *anything that leads to real intimacy and feelings of connection can be healing*" (p. 213).

Summarizing the statistics that Levant and Kopecky (1995) and Pollack and Levant (1998) have cited from the National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS; 1996-1997), it appears that in the United States men live an average of seven years less than women, and twice as many men as women die from heart disease. The risk of heart disease is increased by behaviors more often observed in men than in women, such as smoking, not exercising, consuming high-fat foods, and overinvestment in work. Related to these behaviors, the death rate for men is approximately six times higher than it is for women for incidences involving lung cancer and emphysema. Cancers of the digestive organs are also about 50% more frequent for men than for women. Levant pointed out that these statistics are not meant to diminish the many psychological, physical, health, and economic inequities that are of real concern to women in the United States. However, although women are more likely to become chronically ill than men are, men are more likely to die from their illnesses (Strickland, 1988; as cited in Levant & Kopecky, 1995).

Such statistics for men give pause for reflection and suggest that culture and conditioning contribute to the formula because, as Levant stated, "Nature . . . didn't stack the deck against males" (p. 210). Many men simply do not heed the early warning signs of illness because they have learned to numb themselves to physical discomfort, pain, and

their emotions while overinvesting in a stressful work situation and participating in risk-taking behaviors (Waldron & Johnston, 1976; as cited in Levant & Kopecky, 1995). Death rates from car accidents, from accidents caused at work, from drowning, or through using firearms are three to four times higher for men than for women. No doubt there are some mitigating factors regarding these statistics—an example of which is that men probably do more driving than women, particularly in hazardous conditions (Levant & Kopecky, 1995). However, the larger picture cannot be explained away through dissection of the facts. Traditional male gender-role training encourages men to prove themselves through risk-taking behaviors, aggression, and violence. In Levant's words, "Males are taught to be tough, daring, fearless, assertive, to respond to threats with anger, and never to back down from challenges" (p. 216).

Substance Abuse

A male dominant pattern for alcohol and drug use is attributed to men's adherence to the traditional male code (Eisler, 1995; Levant & Kopecky, 1995; Pollack, 1998a). Cross-cultural comparisons cited by Levant and Kopecky (1995) show a correlation between a cultural mandate to achieve and be independent, and the heavy consumption of alcohol and drug use (Waldron & Johnston, 1976; as cited in Levant & Kopecky, 1995). He speculated that "the more men sacrifice themselves to their work in order to achieve, the more they also feel entitled to reward themselves for these sacrifices" (p. 217). Two reasons are outlined to substantiate his position: Alcohol effectively numbs the internal stresses and anxieties brought home from the job, and drinking creates a buffer between him and his partner to fend off any attempts at emotional closeness—closeness that he needs but fears will compromise his masculinity.

Levant is not alone in his theories. Taylor (1984, 1994, 2000), Taylor (1987), and Taylor et al. (1991) repeatedly reported findings supporting the association between alexithymic traits—lack of emotional awareness, concreteness of thinking, externalized style of living—and compulsive behaviors and alcohol abuse, "seemingly to avoid experiencing feelings of inner emptiness" (Taylor et al., 1991, p. 155). Lane and Schwartz (1987) argued that "substance abuse is a sensorimotor enactive response to relatively undifferentiated states of unpleasant emotional arousal" (p. 141) when emotion is experienced globally as a bodily sensation and often accompanied by an action tendency. A male functioning at this level would seek to maximize his bodily sensations of pleasure through alcohol and substance abuse with minimal awareness of the impact that his behaviors has on others (Lane & Schwartz). Levant et al. (2003) and others (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995; Eisler, 1995; Haviland-Jones et al., 1997; Helmers & Mente, 1999; Krystal, 1982, 1990; Levant & Pollack, 1995; Mirowsky & Ross, 1995; O'Neil et al., 1995; Pleck, 1981, 1995; Pollack, 1995; Pollack & Levant, 1998; Wood, Rhodes, & Whelan, 1989) maintained that an important route to higher affective-cognitive functioning and the reduction of substance abuse for males is through an increased awareness of and an adjustment in the negative aspects of the traditional socialization of boys and men.

Suicide and Depression

Women have made some progress in breaking free from their traditional gender-role training, whereas men have continued to "cling to certain bedrock beliefs about masculinity that are becoming increasingly hazardous to their physical and mental health" (Levant & Kopecky, 1995, p. 220). Attempts at suicide are twice as likely to be

successful for men as for women, and this suicide rate is strongly correlated with incidences of unemployment (Waldron & Johnston, 1976; as cited in Levant & Kopecky, 1995). One of those bedrock beliefs is that a 'real man' is a high achiever in his work, "stuffed with gender-straining obsessional duty" (Pollack, 1998a, p. 147), and that he is a good provider for his family. The statistics suggest that when a man fails to meet these gender-role expectations, his fall from status so attacks his sense of self-esteem that life is no longer worth living (Levant & Kopecky, 1995; Pollack, 1998a; Pollack & Levant, 1998).

Identifying depression leading to male suicide seems to be a problematic issue. Although the gender gap in suicide rates seems to be closing—female:male, 1.7:1 (Kessler & McRae, 1983; as cited in Pollack, 1998a)—depression in men continues to be denied by men and to be undetected by professionals (Potts, Burnam, & Wells, 1991). Men, in general, take there own lives approximately four times more often than women do; young men complete suicide five to eight times more often than young women do; older men (age 85+) are 10 times more likely to complete suicide than older women are (NCHS; as cited in Pollack, 1998a). Pollack asked, "How can men be committing suicide in these growing numbers, without being depressed—with their rates of depression remaining relatively low in all our classic diagnostic mechanisms?" (p. 150). One answer is that the diagnostic tools available do not accurately assess male depression, and clinicians and intimate partners are often unconscious of the societally embedded masculinity ideologies that influence male development. Even at an early age, boys find it difficult to report that they are depressed (Haviland-Jones et al., 1997).

Pollack (1998a) brought the problem into perspective when he stated that "men are increasingly manifesting states of psychic depletion and fragmentation, which would become plain to our view, if only we had the empathic lens through which to see!" (p. 147). Because of gender-role training, men are not identifying their feelings and speaking about those more vulnerable feelings of loneliness, desperation, and fear; neither do they identify and seek solace for mood shifts. "Shame-hardening socialization" causes them to "deny depression because it is unacceptable to their self image" (p. 152), and "painfully numbed inner experience" (p. 147) goes unrecognized despite depression being an epidemiologically well-studied disorder.

This section on health needs to be concluded with the recognition that not all or even most of the traditional masculine tendencies are necessarily detrimental to men's health. Many attributes of traditional masculinity are identified as indicators of positive mental health for both men and women (Eisler, 1995).

Strengths of the Traditional Male Code

The repercussions of the endorsement of masculinity ideology are numerous; however, not all outcomes are problematic. The traditional male way of demonstrating caring is "through taking care of family and friends, looking out for them, solving their problems, and being counted on to be there when needed" (Levant, 1992a, p. 381). Although the traditional masculine code needs to be reexamined, there is value in many masculine traits that receive very little recognition in the present emotional climate. Gilmore's (1990) research showed a multicultural tendency for men to exhibit a nurturing concept of selfless generosity. Male generosity is demonstrated in most cultures through a man's willingness to make personal sacrifices in order to provide more than he would

personally consume and to serve the community by distributing goods to others. In other words, men often express their concern and love for family and community through provisioning and sharing. Provisioning and sharing generally require a willingness to withstand some hardships and a demonstration of steadfastness, resilience, determination, competence, logical thought, and loyalty to the commitments made, as well as learning how to be assertive (Bergman, 1995; Levant, 1992a, 1995b; Pollack, 1995). Gilmore (1990) agreed with the idea that, like women, men need to *learn* how to be assertive. He observed a paradoxical situation for men in most cultures that to provide for the family whom he loves and on whom he depends for his own nurturance, he has to be away from them, and, "to be generous, he must be selfish enough to amass goods" (p. 230). Cross culturally, he explained, "non-men are often those stigmatized as stingy and unproductive" (p. 229).

Along with productivity and provisioning as valuable traditional male attributes is the attribute of providing protection. Providing protection requires "stick-to-it-ive-ness and the will to hang in until a situation is corrected" and "the ability to withstand hardship and pain to protect others" (Levant, 1995b, p. 232). Again a paradoxical situation is encountered. In order for a man to feel the desire to take risks, be tough, stay calm in the face of danger, and protect his family and community, he in all probability has experienced tenderness toward them, which would explain the motivation to protect, except in the case of a mercenary (Gilmore, 1990; Levant, 1992a, 1995b). The previously mentioned male attributes that applied to provisioning and productivity also apply to the gift of protection.

Inducing boys to meet the positive challenges of traditional manhood does not in any way reduce the requirement for a reexamination of harmful stereotypical male norms. Stereotypical female norms have been challenged for some time. By answering the challenge, many women have looked inward, learned to act on internal direction, and successfully discriminated between thoughts motivated by strength and those by fear and illusion (Myss, 1996). The invitation is before men to do likewise regarding male psychology, and this research attempts to assist in that process.

Purpose of the Study

The need for a new psychology of men grew out of a previously practiced approach to social science research that made references almost exclusively to men, and by approaching the social sciences in this manner, the research was almost void of an appreciation of gender differences. By attempting to address humanity as a whole, past research excluded references specific to women, but it also failed to adequately examine the psychological complexities of masculinity. Understanding the unique language, struggles, and social-emotional developmental processes for traditional men and boys is a focus of the new psychology of men (Levant, 1996; Thompson & Pleck, 1995) and the current study. A continued examination of traditional men's issues guided by the new psychology of men is expected, over time, to have far-reaching and long-lasting effects for men and women and their families. "The human heart feels things the eyes cannot see, and knows what the mind cannot understand," stated Robert Vallett. Assisting traditional men to access their metaphoric "human heart" and subsequently to develop to their optimum level of emotional awareness relies on examining the nonclinical, mild to moderate end of the alexithymia continuum and expanding the alexithymia construct to

include normative male alexithymia in its conception. The current study extends previous research in the assessment of the effects of a socialization process that encourages the endorsement of the traditional male code.

Toward this end, quantitative measures were selected that both advance and replicate previous research used to examine the socialization of males and the resultant condition, normative male alexithymia. New literature and concepts have been introduced to the field by using a quantitative measure of emotional awareness that is uncharted in men's studies, and continuity has been retained through the use of a quantitative measure of traditional masculinity ideology that is commonly used in the new psychology of men.

A quantitative direct performance measure of emotional awareness was selected in preference to a commonly used self-report measure of alexithymia. This decision was based on four criteria. First, the association of sociodemographic characteristics (age, sex, and educational attainment) with the commonly used self-report measure is not well understood, and the nature of any such correlation would yield important information about the alexithymia construct. This information would assist in comparing discrepant and inconsistent results and aid in the accurate interpretation of the meaning of scores when measures of alexithymia are used (Lane, Sechrest, & Riedel, 1998). Second, a direct measure has certain advantages over a self-report measure (Lane et al., 1997) in that a self-report measure requires respondents to accurately identify and report feelings that they do not comprehend (Krystal, 1988; Lane et al., 1998). Third, the direct performance measure that was selected is capable of accurately detecting mild to moderate degrees of emotional unawareness necessary for the detection of mild to moderate alexithymic characteristics on a continuum in nonclinical settings, whereas the

self-report alexithymia measure that is most frequently used has established "cutoff scores for classifying a respondent as alexithymic or nonalexithymic" (Lane et al, 1998, p. 382) to identify moderate to severe alexithymia in clinical settings. Last, the direct performance measure assesses levels of emotional development that correspond to six levels of cognitive development. This approach is consistent with the foundational concepts of normative male alexithymia (Levant, 1998).

The term traditional masculinity ideology is a central construct in the new psychology of men. Pertinent to this study, measuring traditional masculinity ideology refers to measuring the degree to which an individual endorses and internalizes the Western cultural belief systems and attitudes about traditional masculinity and the male gender (Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1993a). Socialized expectations are believed to influence male endorsement of the need to avoid all things feminine, to overinvest time and energy in work and achievement, to restrict emotionality, and to express sexuality in a nonrelational manner in order to feel like a real man (Levant & Brooks, 1997; Levant & Pollack, 1995; Pollack & Levant, 1998).

Socialized expectations are also believed to influence male development in the capacity to regulate emotions, to cognitively process emotional states, to respond empathetically, and to experience vulnerable feelings. One of the ways that this research seeks to more fully understand these issues is by increasing our understanding of the construct normative male alexithymia through an examination of a concept central to alexithymia, emotional awareness. An adequate level of emotional awareness is essential for effective interpersonal relationships, for until a person has developed this capacity,

the ability to actually experience emotions may be lacking (Duval & Wicklund, 1972; as cited in Lane & Schwartz, 1987; Lewis, 1993).

The current study contributes to the existing literature by extending the diversity of research participants beyond the usual sample of college respondents and including a sample that consists of individuals working as trades people in a heavy industrial setting. By way of this investigation, it is anticipated that our understanding of normative male alexithymia in a traditional male population will be enhanced, its prevalence and influence in the lives of traditional men will be made clearer, and thus a knowledge-based focus for change in the new psychology of men will be confirmed.

The current study also contributes by addressing specific goals. The first and primary goal is to ascertain whether features postulated to be associated with normative male alexithymia are related to a traditional male's capacity to be emotionally aware. Toward this end, the following hypotheses were tested.

Hypothesis #1

College Males: With marital status entered as a covariate, it is expected that avoidance of all things feminine, overinvestment of self in work and achievement/status, restrictive emotionality, and a nonrelational attitude toward sex predict the capacity for emotional awareness for college males.

College Females: With age, social desirability, and marital status entered as covariates, it is expected that avoidance of all things feminine, overinvestment of self in work and achievement/status, restrictive emotionality, and a nonrelational attitude toward sex do not predict the capacity for emotional awareness for college females.

Trades Males: With age, social desirability, marital status, and income entered as covariates, it is expected that avoidance of all things feminine, overinvestment of self in work and achievement/status, restrictive emotionality, and a nonrelational attitude toward sex predict the capacity for emotional awareness for trades males.

Trades Females: With marital status entered as a covariate, it is expected that avoidance of all things feminine, overinvestment of self in work and achievement/status, restrictive emotionality, and a nonrelational attitude toward sex do not predict the capacity for emotional awareness for trades females.

The second goal of this research is to gather normative data regarding gender differences and category (college or trades) differences in the capacity for emotional awareness of self and other and in the endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology. Toward this end, the following hypotheses will be tested.

Hypothesis #2

With age and marital status entered as covariates, it is expected that trades males endorse the avoidance of all things feminine, overinvestment of self in work and achievement, restricted emotionality, and nonrelational attitudes toward sexuality to a greater degree than will college males.

Hypothesis #3

College sample: With age and marital status entered as covariates, college males endorse traditional masculinity ideology to a greater degree than will college females.

Trades sample: With age and marital status entered as covariates, trades males endorse traditional masculinity ideology to a greater degree than will trades females.

Hypothesis #4

With age, social desirability, and marital status entered as covariates, capacity for emotional awareness of self and other vary significantly as a function of being in college or in a trade and as a function of being male or female.

A third goal for doing this research is to test the concurrent and discriminant validity of a scale measuring emotional frequency. This will be achieved by testing the following hypothesis.

Hypothesis #5

The frequency of emotional experience is positively related to the capacity for emotional awareness and negatively related to restrictive emotionality for both the college and trades samples.

In Chapter One the area being researched has been introduced by providing background information on the topic, making understandable the significance of the study and its intended purpose. As well, the hypotheses that will be tested are outlined.

In Chapter Two relevant literature and empirical research are presented to provide a guide into the area of study and to establish the foundation on which it rests.

In Chapter Three the research design, research sites, participants, method for data collection, and instruments, and scoring procedures are presented.

Chapter Four is concerned with the data analysis and results.

A discussion of the findings is dealt with in Chapter Five, along with sections that address the generalizability and limitations of the study and implications for clinical work and further research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this research is to measure the capacity for emotional awareness as it relates to the endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology and the frequency of emotional experience. In doing so, it is expected that our understanding of the normative male alexithymia construct will be enhanced and its prevalence and influence in the lives of traditional men more clearly understood. By confirming and clarifying the prevalence of normative male alexithymia in a sample mainly representative of working men, a knowledge-based contribution for change can be made in the new psychology of men. Further to the aim of advancing knowledge regarding the psychology of men, it is hypothesized that there will be significant relationships between certain features postulated to be associated with normative male alexithymia and a male's capacity for frequency of emotional experience and emotional awareness of himself and others.

In this chapter a theory of emotional development, which is foundational to the hypotheses proposed in this study, and Lane and Schwartz's (1987) cognitive-developmental theory of levels of emotional awareness will be discussed. Components of Lane and Schwartz's theory of emotional awareness will be reviewed through the normative male alexithymia lens and Lewis' (1993) model of emotional development. The influence of the gender-bifurcated socialization of emotions on the development of traditional masculinity ideology and normative male alexithymia will be covered with the intention of clarifying the relevance and lifelong impact of traditional masculinity ideology on men's level of emotional awareness and quality of life.

Emotional Development and Normative Male Alexithymia

Before a review of the theory of emotional development adhered to for the purposes of this research is undertaken, a clarification of the definitions used by the various theorists to distinguish between the terms *affect*, *emotion*, and *feeling* is necessary. Sifneos' (1975, 1988) definition of the term *affect* included both the notion of biological, viscerally experienced emotions and the notion of psychologically experienced feelings. His understanding of the term *emotion* applied to humans and all mammals because his criteria for the term included a capacity to experience visceral emotions that are reflexive in nature and therefore require only minimal cortical representations. *Feelings*, however, were attributed exclusively to humans because of the requirement of a cognitive component necessitating a well-developed neocortical structure and an imaginal capacity for thoughts and fantasies that evolves from visceral activity. Nemiah et al. (1976) made similar differentiations. *Feeling* referred to "the more subjective, experiential aspect of an affect" (p. 430), whereas *emotion* referred to primarily "the somatic components of affects" (p. 430). *Affect* was viewed as the more general term encompassing both feeling and emotion. Krystal (1988a) used the terms *emotion* and *feeling* synonymously and was inclined to use the word feeling to describe "the subjective experience of an emotion one recognizes as part of one's own self" (p. xi). *Affect* was considered to involve "cognitive, hedonic, 'expressive,' and activating" (pp. xi-xii) components. Cognition was not always assumed to be present in an affect, although he emphasized the importance of seeking the meaning contained within the affect as well as the "story behind it" (p. xii). For the purposes of clarity and simplicity in Chapter Two, distinctions among these three terms will not be made, although

establishing that quotations in the text reflect varying perspectives of these definitions may prove to be helpful.

Emotional States, Expressions, and Experiences

Michael Lewis (1993) made distinctions between emotional states, emotional experiences, and emotional expressions that may be useful in a discussion about male emotional development and normative male alexithymia. To follow Lewis' line of reasoning, his view of the term emotion requires clarification. He stated, "*Emotion*, like the term *cognition*, refers to a class of elicitors, behaviors, states, and experiences" (p. 223). Therefore, for Lewis, emotions bring forth certain behaviors, states, and experiences; and cognition is seen as integral in that elicitation. "What is clear," reminded Lewis, "is that the appearance of particular emotions may be dependent upon new cognitions, as well as the fact that new cognitions may allow for the development of new emotions" (p. 226). His perception of particular emotions acting upon cognitive development and being acted upon by cognition is in keeping with social constructionism theory.

Understanding that the reciprocal relationship between cognition and emotion facilitates the differentiation of emotions is foundational to the working hypothesis of this research and to accurately interpreting the results gleaned from the analysis. The theory of the differentiation of emotional states as a developmental process is widely accepted (Feldman Barrett et al., 2000; Krystal, 1988a, 1990; Lane et al., 2000; Levant, 1998; Lewis, 1992, 1993; Mayer & Salovey, 1997; Stoudemire, 1991; Taylor et al., 1999) and is foundational to the etiology of normative male alexithymia and to Lane and Schwartz's (1987) cognitive-developmental theory of levels of emotional awareness. Lewis' (1993)

distinctions between state, experience, and expression act as a thread of reference in understanding both Lane and Schwartz's theory of levels of emotional awareness and Levant's (1996) concept of normative male alexithymia.

This research and this examination of male psychological development rest on the theory of specific emotional states. Emotional states, as defined by Lewis (1993), are a configuration of characteristic, transient changes in levels of hormonal, "somatic and/or neurophysiological activity" (p. 223) that can occur in individuals with or without their awareness of that particular state. Lewis clarified the issue of lack of awareness when he stated, "It may be quite possible to have a specific emotional state but to be unaware of it, ignore it, or even deny it . . . [or] choose not to express it" (p. 224). Consequently, emotional states are inferred. Two basic emotional states are considered by some theorists to be present at birth (Krystal, 1988a; Krystal & Raskin, 1970; Valenstein, 1962). Lewis described these two states as "a negative or distress state and a positive or satiated state" (p. 225). Distress and satiation are presumed to emerge into more differentiated emotional states through the developmental altering of hedonic tone and general arousal (Lewis, 1993). How this occurs remains speculative, cautioned Lewis, but it is in the area of differentiating emotional states that alexithymic males' difficulties begin. The difficulties involve a decreased capacity to identify both negative and positive emotional states in self and accurately understand the associated bodily changes that signal the presence of emotions (Lane et al., 2000). A number of forces combine that influence the development of a capacity or a deficit at identifying and differentiating emotional states and the successful achievement of developmental changes that occur in existing states once they have emerged. Mother-child interactions, maturation, the

capacity to regulate emotions, biological directives, socialization expectations, and the development of cognitive structures all participate in encouraging or discouraging the success of this process (Lane, 2000; Taylor, 2000). It is the socialized disruption and possible truncation of the identification and differentiation of emotional states that is viewed as foundational to the development of normative male alexithymia (Levant, 1998). The resultant unawareness of emotional states, in part, defines normative male alexithymia. It would be inaccurate, however, to conclude that males who struggle with mild to moderate alexithymia are without *any* awareness of their emotional states (Taylor, 1994).

Emotional states create a constant stream of internal change that "may bear little correspondence to our emotional lives—either emotional expressions or our experience of emotions" explained Lewis (1993, p. 224). However, emotional states do influence ongoing behavior in either a supportive or disruptive fashion. An analogy that may assist in understanding how men's internal emotional states can influence their emotional lives and behavior without their conscious awareness is the act of looking out a window. By looking out a window one sees but does not always consciously acknowledge the weather, and it may or may not influence the decisions of the moment—but the weather is always there. This is similar to looking emotionally inward: Nearly all individuals experience constant emotional weather as it accompanies every mental process. In Krystal's (1990) words, "Affects are part of every *mental event*, be it perception, impulse, or conflict" (p. 236); and, Krystal (1999) continued, "in a living individual there cannot be a condition of *no affect* any more than the world could exist in a state of *no weather*"

(p. 10). As with the weather, an internal emotional state may or may not be acknowledged as one's self-presentation strategy is chosen for that moment.

It is the normatively alexithymic male who has been socialized to ignore and deny his inner emotional weather. Maturation and socialization influences in the environment, particularly the mother-child interaction, underlie the process of the differentiation of emotional states that begins in infancy (Krystal, 1988a; Lewis, 1993). It is the disruption of emotional maturation and supportive socialization influences, and especially the mother-child interaction, that is viewed as initiating developmental trauma for boys by disallowing the recognition of their emotional states. Should such a disruption occur, the impact on a male's development and his relationships can continue throughout his life span. The disruption and the resultant deficit are considered normal for males in our culture and have been identified by clinicians and supported by empirical research as responsible for many types of dysfunctional behavior in males. (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995; Levant, 1998; Pleck, 1981, 1995; Pollack, 1998a, 1998c, 2001)

"Emotional *expressions* are seen by some as the manifestation of internal emotional *states*," explained Lewis (1993, p. 229). This manifestation is generally observed through facial expressions, voice, body language, and general activity level; and it is these physiological representations that are the clearest indicators of an emotional state (Krystal, 1988a; Lewis, 1993). Alexithymic males will have difficulty identifying their own and another's external expressions of emotional states. Lane et al. (2000) were able to demonstrate this point in their findings that indicated that "the inability to differentiate between exteroceptive emotion cues is likely to be associated with an internal state that is itself undifferentiated" (p. 497).

Measuring external modes of emotional expressiveness is complicated by the unreliability of observing and coding behaviors other than facial expressions and the unreliability of expecting an emotional expression in response to a specific elicitor (Lewis, 1993). Measurement is further complicated by the fact that one's self-presentation through emotional expression often masks, controls, falsifies, or denies the existence of an emotional state. The necessity for camouflage is often preceded by cultural pressures and socialized expectations—a key concern in the traditional socialization of masculine behavior (Buck, 1981; Levant et al., 1992;). "Thus," stated Lewis, "the relationship between expressions and states remains somewhat vague" (p. 229). It is important that this vague relationship be taken into consideration upon any attempt to assess the impact of the gender-bifurcated socialization on males. Measuring the expression of gender preferences rather than emotional awareness can potentially misrepresent the degree to which an individual actually *endorses* traditional masculinity ideology or traditional masculine cultural beliefs. Because of cultural and socialized pressures, a respondent may emotionally express and/or behaviorally represent his masculine self in a manner that differs from his privately held beliefs and emotional experiences (Levant, 1998).

The terms *emotional experience* as defined by Lewis (1993) and *emotional awareness* as used in Lane and Schwartz's (1992) cognitive developmental theory are considered to be synonymous and will therefore be used interchangeably. Lewis defined emotional experience as "the interpretation and evaluation by individuals of their perceived emotional state and expression" (p. 226). Besides intentionally attending to one's own emotional state (i.e., alterations in neurophysiological behavior) and

expression (i.e., changes in facial expressions and voice), emotional experience requires an ability to verbalize feelings, to attend to changes in situational context, and to attend to changes in the behaviors of others (Krystal, 1988a; Lewis, 1993; Saarni, 1999). These are some of the cumulative and essential abilities for emotional competency. These competing stimuli along with the additional distractions that occur in most emotional situations ensure that emotional experience is "neither automatic nor necessarily conscious, . . . [for] emotional experiences may occur at different levels of consciousness" (p. 226). Emotional experiences are influenced by "beliefs about what ought to be happening," stated Lewis (p. 227). In other words, socialization and cultural pressures "provide the content of the emotional experience" (p. 227). The socialization of men to adequately develop these cumulative abilities is, at least in part, responsible for the development of the condition of normative male alexithymia.

Awareness of emotional experiences depends on the reciprocal and corresponding level of cognitive awareness available to an individual and the capacity to evaluate and differentiate emotional states and expressions (Krystal, 1988a; Lewis, 1993; Saarni, 1999). One indicator of conscious emotional experience is the ability of individuals to use their cognitive capacity to elicit a lexicon of feeling words—a key concern in the assessment of normative male alexithymia. "The individuals who have been fortunate to have had a good chance to develop their emotions and affect tolerance," explained Krystal (1990), "are able to recognize and name their *feelings*" (p. 229). If a male is able to generate a significant number of labels for feelings, there is a good probability that he is also able to identify numerous differentiated emotional states and expressions, enabling the awareness of emotional experiences (Lane et al., 1990). Accompanying a high level

of emotional awareness is a corresponding capacity for empathy and a capacity to experience a wide range of emotions, including the more vulnerable emotions (Lane & Schwartz, 1987). Through errant socialization and the disruption of a male's emotional developmental process, a lexicon of feeling words is often unavailable, possibly indicative of a low capacity for empathy, an inability to express vulnerable emotions, and an overexpression of anger as a substitute for the expression of caring emotions (Levant, 1998). It is this disruption and derailing of male emotional development that men's studies scholars have identified as rendering males unconscious to their internal selves—a normalized expectation that is harmful and dysfunctional (Bergman, 1995; Brooks & Silverstein, 1995; Pollack, 1998c, 2001).

Lewis' (1993) words reflect the pressing need felt by men's studies scholars to examine the gender-bifurcated socialization of men and boys when he stated that "although awareness may not be at a conscious level, unconscious awareness may still exert powerful effects" (p. 227). It is the misunderstood 'powerful effects' of unconscious awareness of emotional states, expressions, and experiences that are destructive to men's sense of self-efficacy and to their relationships. Resolving men's health issues, dark-side behaviors, lack of empathy, and relationship failures relies on a clear understanding of the role that cognitive and emotional awareness play in the differentiation of emotions and the development of a concept of self (Krystal, 1988a; Levant & Pollack, 1995; Lewis, 1993).

Concept of Self

As previously defined, emotional awareness relies on the cognitive capacity to acknowledge and evaluate bodily changes that are associated with emotional states and expressions, and, to add to the list of competencies required, mature emotional awareness also relies on a developed *concept of self*. An individual with a developed concept of self is self-observant and realizes that bodily changes associated with emotional awareness are, in Lewis' (1993) words, "uniquely different from other changes; that is, they are internal rather than external" (p. 228). The internal-external distinction is important for emotional development because it differentiates between experience and expression and can be carried out only by individuals who have developed a concept of self; in other words, who have developed the crucial cognitive capacity for objective self-awareness (Buck, 1981; Krystal, 1988a; Lewis, 1993). Having the cognitive capacity for a concept of self is not only necessary for making internal-external distinctions, but it is also necessary for making the associated distinction between the self and the other. The capacity for making this distinction is foundational for intimacy, empathetic responding, the regulation of emotions, and self-care—all criteria for emotional competency (Krystal, 1988a; Lane et al., 1990; Lane & Schwartz, 1987).

The development of a concept of self and having a capacity for the awareness of others's emotions is a primary concern for clinicians working in the areas of male dark-side behaviour and health care (Brooks & Gilbert, 1995; Brooks & Silverstein, 1995; Eisler, 1995). Evidence of both of these capacities is hypothesized to be correlated with a high level of emotional awareness and a low endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology (Levant, 1998). A low endorsement of masculinity ideology is likely to be

associated with the ability to have intimate, emotionally connecting sexual experiences, to balance work and personal life, to have a positive definition of masculinity, and to experience and express vulnerable emotions (Levant & Brooks, 1997; Levant & Fischer, 1996). It is evident, however, that until males are capable of the cognitive capacity for developing a self-concept, awareness of emotional experiences is not available to them, nor are certain more complex emotions likely to emerge (Lewis, 1993).

One class of the more complex emotions that emerge after the primary emotions is the more highly differentiated self-conscious emotions such as embarrassment, pride, guilt, and shame (Lewis, 1993). In order to effectively evaluate and regulate this set of emotions, an individual needs to have a concept of self, a highly developed capacity to differentiate emotional states, a capacity to own that state as belonging to the self, and the ability to take corrective action to repair any sense of failure resulting from experiencing the self-conscious emotion. If these abilities are present, corrective action can occur in the form of *specific* positive attributions to the self. If awareness of emotional states and expressions is inadequate, there is more likely to be *global* negative attributions to the self. An accurate understanding of normative male alexithymia acknowledges deficiencies in the above-stated capacities (concept of self, emotional differentiation states, taking corrective action), implying a tendency to make global negative attributions to the self. Lane, Sechrest, Reidel, Shapiro, and Kaszniak's (2000) findings suggested that the more alexithymic an individual is, the more difficulty that person will have taking action to prevent "the persistence of negative affective states" (p. 497) or global negative attributions to self. Lewis described guilt or regret as a specific self-evaluation of a self-conscious emotion that allows a focus on "the self's actions and behaviors that

are likely to repair the failure" (p. 569). On the other hand, the experience of shame, explained Lewis, "results in the disruption of ongoing behavior, confusion in thought, and an inability to speak; . . . a shrinking of the body, as though to disappear from the eye of the self or the other" (p. 569); in other words, loss of cohesion and psychological disorganization. The persistent experience of shame represents a "global attack on the self-system" (p. 569) and an individual's focus on the total self as being bad, possibly resulting, at least in part, from negative socialization.

Lewis' representation of shame as a negative global self-attribution possibly evolving from a low level of emotional competency informs and supports clinicians involved in the examination of shame in men's lives (Krugman, 1995, 1998; Osherson, 1992). One such clinician is Steven Krugman (1995), who described the intense experience of shame as a "corrosive, self-annihilating cognitive activity" (p. 102) that can feel intolerable, particularly when a male's emotional functioning is relatively undeveloped; that is, he has minimal awareness of states, expressions, and experiences. It can be the lack of emotional awareness and the lack of a self-concept that induces passivity resulting in shame, which in turn "generates narcissistic rage, which then produces guilt" (p. 102), explained Krugman. "This sequence underlies many types of domestic violence and may generate the interminable quarrels common to conflictual marriages and dysfunctional families" (p. 102). Under such circumstances it is the narcissistic need to protect self that becomes a psychological priority. The psychological priority to rid self of shame can also appear as contempt and hubris. Lewis (1993) referred to the attribution of the emotional experience of hubris to self as being an "exaggerated pride or self-confidence, . . . 'puffed up,' . . . with grandiosity or with

narcissism, . . . 'insolent' or 'contemptuous'" (p. 570). A male socialized to be emotionally unaware, in other words alexithymic, may exhibit a tendency to experience shame, contempt and hubris and may also tend to endorse the traditional male code.

Although many factors are involved in dysfunctional global evaluations of self-conscious emotions, Lewis (1993) cited "early failures in the self-system, . . . narcissistic disorders, . . . harsh socialization experience, and high levels of . . . punishment for failure" (p. 567) as contributing to the inability to specifically attribute failure to the self and instead globally attack the self and blame the actions of others. This assessment informs and supports the position taken by Levant (1995b, 1996, 1998) in his review of the emotional socialization of males in Western culture and the consequent gender-role strain and restricted emotionality. Lewis' categorization of the global attribution of feelings is also significant to this research because it supports Lane and Schwartz's (1987) classification of global feelings as being typical of individuals functioning in the sensorimotor enactive level. At this level of cognitive-emotional development and consistent with Lewis' views, emotion is experienced as "an action tendency and a bodily sensation," (p. 138), explained Lane and Schwartz, and "the ability to experience emotion as a conscious feeling state has not yet developed. Action tendencies are based on global and all-consuming states of pleasure or unpleasure that are aimed at maximizing pleasure and minimizing distress" (p. 138), suggesting a low cognitive capacity for the differentiation of states. There is a possibility that males who experience the dysfunctional global evaluations of emotion states may also endorse the traditional male code, have a low capacity for empathy, and struggle with the presence of normative male alexithymia.

Emotion Responding and Emotion Regulation

Emotion is a complex and often debated phenomenon. However, in the area of emotional awareness and the regulation of emotions in humans, theorists generally agree that there are three physiologically interrelated systems described by Lewis' (1993) as emotional states, expressions, and experiences that interact reciprocally to regulate emotions. The alexithymia construct (Taylor, 2000) and the normative male alexithymia construct (Levant, 1998) reflect deficits in the cognitive processing and the regulation of emotions reliant on the interactions among the three systems. In summary, the three interrelated systems are the neurophysiological (emotional states), the motor-expressive (emotional expressions), and the cognitive-experiential (emotional experiences/ awareness) (Taylor, 2000). The neurophysiological level of functioning (emotional state) involves the autonomic nervous system and the endocrine system, which work together, for example, in the production of a fight or flight response: "The sympathetic nervous system is activated," explained Levant, "and the adrenal glands release epinephrine" (p. 42). The motor-expressive level of functioning (emotional expression) involves the conscious or unconscious activation of the skeletal-muscular system in the creation of behaviors such as facial expressions, changes in posture, crying, and tone of voice. The cognitive-experiential level of functioning (emotional awareness) involves the subjective awareness of emotional experiences and the ability to identify and name feelings. It is the reciprocal interactions among these three systems along with an individual's social interactions that provide "interpersonal emotion regulation," stated Taylor, "that may be supportive or disruptive" (p. 135). A low capacity for emotional awareness suggests a low awareness of neurophysiological and motor-expressive activity in the body (Lane,

Sechrest, et al., 1998), possibly indicative of a higher risk of health problems (Goleman, 1995; King & Emmons, 1990; Taylor et al., 1991; Wise & Mann, 1993), troubled personal relationships (Krystal, 1999; Lane, Ahern et al., 1997; Lane, Sechrest, et al., 1996), and the endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology (Eisler, 1995).

Summary of Emotional Development and Normative Male Alexithymia

This summary of the emergence of human emotions is only one of various competing views (Kemper, 1993; Solomon, 1993; White, 1993). Whatever the view and however various disputed components are explained, "there is a gradual and orderly development of the human capacity to experience emotions" (p. 5), assured Krystal (1999), "that hinges on the availability of empathic caring and a responsive holding environment" (p. 6)—two major concerns of the new psychology of men. Men and boys who do not complete the cognitive-emotional developmental process lose their ability to use their emotions as signals to themselves and are color blind to their own feelings (Krystal, 1990, 1999). Their tendency, Krystal concluded, is to "live entirely on the basis of their reasoning, . . . [thereby developing] a propensity to narcissistic superiority, indifference, and to domination and exploitation of objects" (p. 11), and, he added, possibly "develop[ing] the spectrum of addictions" (p. 11). Overcoming these tendencies requires a renunciation of the idea that men and boys should be *rid* of their emotions and instead encourage the perception, identification, and naming of emotions so that they can obtain the maximum information from them (Krystal, 1988a).

A Cognitive-Developmental Theory of Levels of Emotional Awareness and Normative Male Alexithymia

A discussion of emotional awareness from Lane and Schwartz's (1987) cognitive-developmental perspective provides a comprehensive framework for thinking about how *change* occurs in the experience of emotion. Their model also provides an alternative view of alexithymia (Lane et al., 2000). The classic description of alexithymia refers to an individual "having difficulty identifying and describing feelings, having difficulty differentiating their feelings from bodily sensations, and having diminished affect-related fantasy" (p. 492). This classic definition emphasized a deficit in the capacity to symbolize emotion. Lane et al. (1996) have demonstrated that alexithymia is more than a verbal phenomenon represented by a deficit in the capacity to symbolize emotion and, instead, conceptualized it as "a deficit in the cognitive processing of emotion, . . . an impairment in the capacity to consciously experience emotional feelings in the context of autonomic activation indicative of emotional arousal" (p. 492). Restated in Lewis' (1993), terms, alexithymia may be best described as a deficit in being able to cognitively perceive emotional states and emotional expressions, thereby restricting the capacity for emotional experiences. Krystal (1990) had expanded his understanding of alexithymia beyond the classic definition when he made reference to the cognitive constriction associated with alexithymia becoming "manifest in an overall diminution of intellectual and parental function (particularly in men)" (p. 246). Cognitive constriction as experienced in normative male alexithymia and understood in Levant's (1994) terms is the result of a socialization process in which "boys grow up to be men who are genuinely unaware of their emotions, and sometimes even their bodily sensations" (p. 10). Using

Lewis' theory of emotion and elaborating on the cognitive constriction associated with alexithymia, Levant commented as follows:

> I have found that men tend to respond to this unrecognized emotion in one of four ways: (1) "Distraction," a cognitive shift which serves as a "circuit breaker," allowing men to disengage from the bodily discomfort of the unrecognized emotion; (2) the "Rubber Band Syndrome," in which the unrecognized emotion builds and builds until it erupts in an explosion of anger; (3) the "Tin Man" approach, which requires locking up the unrecognized emotion tighter than a drum so that the man no longer feels anything; or (4) the "Mixed Messenger" approach, in which the unrecognized emotion oozes out through the man's non-verbal behavior. (p. 11)

Lane et al.'s (2000) alternative view of alexithymia as a deficit in the cognitive processing and regulation of emotions is generally accepted (Taylor et al., 1997, 2000), and it is this view that is foundational to the primary goal of this study. That goal is to assess emotional awareness from a cognitive developmental perspective and determine its relationship to traditional masculinity ideology and certain features postulated to be associated with normative male alexithymia.

The primary thesis of Lane and Schwartz's (1987) cognitive-developmental theory of emotional awareness is that "emotional awareness is a type of cognitive processing that undergoes five levels of structural transformation along with a cognitive-developmental sequence" (p. 134). The cognitive-developmental sequence is to be understood as the influence that cognition has on structuring an individual's internal reality. The theoretical basis for this component was derived from an integration of the theories of Piaget's (1981) epigenetic model of cognitive-developmental awareness and Werner and Kaplan's (1963) view that symbolic processes determine the nature of experience. Lane and Schwartz's primary thesis is based on the notion that the experience of having an emotion results from previous cognitive processing of emotional arousal.

They expanded their primary thesis to include the idea that "the cognitive process itself undergoes a sequence of structural transformations during development which, in turn, determines the structure of subsequent emotional experience" (p. 134). In other words, the appearance of a particular emotion is dependent upon cognitions undergoing structural transformations and the emerging new cognitions allow for the development of new emotions (Lewis, 1993).

Lane and Schwartz's (1987) cognitive-developmental theory of levels of emotional awareness is individualized and hierarchical. Hierarchical layering results, at least in part, from the acquisition of knowledge, self-observation, and the cognitive structural transformations that are dependent on the processing of emotional arousal or, in Lewis' (1993) terms, emotional states. Thus, when Lane and Schwartz stated that "emotional experience is observer-dependent" (p. 134), they were emphasizing the role that self-observation plays in the transformation of the internal structure. Lewis's (1993) and Krystal's (1999) position that emotional awareness depends on the individual's cognitive capacity for a concept of self and self-reflection (often termed *self-observation* or *self-awareness*) is consistent with Lane and Schwartz's theory of emotional experience being observe-dependent. Lane and Schwartz's concept of observer dependence resonates with research from men's studies. Some scholars from this area of study take the position that the traditional male socialization process is flawed by discouraging self-reflection and awareness of internal processes, specifically emotional states, thereby truncating the cognitive-emotional process. Furthermore, the traditional socialization of men and boys encourages externalization through action and aggressive behaviors (Buck, 1981; Eagly & Steffen, 1986; Frodi, Macaulay, & Thome, 1977; Levant & Kopecky, 1995).

Structuring an Internal Reality

Lane and Schwartz (1987) used an analogy to further illustrate their theory on the cognitive development of emotional awareness. The analogy attempts to demonstrate the influence that cognitive processes can have on one's perception of *external* reality, which in turn can influence one's internal state. They described how Eskimos living in the Arctic have at least 30 separate words to describe different snow conditions that they readily perceive and identify. Individuals raised in the warm climate of Florida do not learn these words for snow; neither do they intellectually develop the concepts of differing varieties of snow, and they would not visually be capable of perceiving numerous distinctions in snow types upon visiting the Arctic environment. During a visit they would be faced with "*the same* external reality" as that of the Eskimos, explained Lane and Schwartz; however, the individuals from Florida would "perceive a snowy landscape as undifferentiated, compared with the more differentiated view of the Eskimos" (p. 135). The *snow awareness* (p. 135) of Eskimos is cognitively transformed during their developmental years, which, in turn, alters their experience of the external world. So it is with the emotional world as well. For males who have been denied the opportunity to differentiate their emotional states due to gender-bifurcated socialization, their internal world is limited by its homogeneity. It is an undifferentiated snowy-white landscape—a white-out—that greatly influences their view of the external world and their capacity to function effectively in their external world, turning external perceptions into internal strife. "The internal world of emotional arousal," explained Lane and Schwartz, "has the potential to be perceived or introspected in an infinite number of ways, limited only by the knowledge one has beforehand of one's own emotional life"

(p. 135). As demonstrated in the analogy, not having beforehand knowledge of one's own emotional life is the equivalent of low emotional awareness. The similarity between the individuals from Florida confronted with the snowy landscape and alexithymic individuals confronted with undifferentiated emotional states is the experience of dissonance, confusion, and overwhelming somatic distress in any attempt to reflect on the phenomenon (Lane & Schwartz, 1987). Both avoid unpleasant neurophysiological arousal by not attending to the bodily sensations and by not generating "symbolic representations on the experience" (p. 140). Low emotional awareness as metaphorically described in the analogy is characterized by avoidance. In the areas of traditional masculinity ideology and normative male alexithymia, low emotional awareness is characterized, in part, by the belief that men should adhere to the following forms of avoidance:

1. avoidance of all things feminine,
2. avoidance of emotional closeness through nonrelational sexuality,
3. avoidance of vulnerability by seeking status and overinvesting self in work,
4. avoidance of accessing the caring emotions by restricting emotionality and channeling emotional expression through anger, and
5. avoidance of close relationships by maintaining a low capacity for empathy (Levant, 1992a).

As demonstrated in the analogy, one's cognitive organization is partially reflected in the *words* used to describe "the content of what is perceived," explained Lane and Schwartz (1987), and "an advanced cognitive organization can be associated with a greater rather than a lesser degree of emotional organization" (p. 135). In other words, it

is through the cognitive process of depicting or verbalizing emotions that an individual's emotional world is constructed. One's emotional world remains unknown and inaccessible to self unless it is symbolically represented (written or artistic representation), verbalized, and made explicit by identifying specific features of an emotional experience. It is through the process of making an emotional experience explicit to oneself that a cognitive structure of that experience is transformed and developed (Werner & Kaplan, 1963), and it is precisely this process that is denied to many males through restrictions on emotional expression and awareness. Consequently, a deficit in the ability to cognitively process emotional states develops as indicated by a limited lexicon of feeling words and normative male alexithymia (Krystal, 1988a; Lane et al., 1990; Levant, 1990a, 1990b, 1994, 1998; Levant & Kopecky, 1995). Lane et al. concluded that by measuring "the number of words used to describe a reaction to an emotion-evoking situation, . . . the structural organization of self-reported emotional experience is provided" (p. 126).

The number of emotion words that an individual used was found not only to indicate the level of cognitive and emotional organization, but also to correlate with the level of cognitive complexity for descriptions of other people and the ability to view a situation from another person's perspective. This suggests that a capacity for empathy may be predicted by an individual's level of emotional awareness of self and others as measured by symbolic representation (Lane & Schwartz, 1987). Lack of emotional empathy is one of the features postulated to be associated with normative male alexithymia and traditional masculinity ideology that may be indicated by an inability to have the language to describe an emotion-evoking situation from another person's

perspective (Levant & Kopecky, 1995). Language is not only a means of representing experience, but also a means for transforming an experience that over time "generates a specifiable process of cognitive development," stated Lane and Schwartz (p. 135). To more fully understand cognitive-emotional development and the internal process of change that evolves over time—structural transformations—Lane and Schwartz employed Piaget's theory of cognitive development regarding the external world and applied it to the inner world of emotional awareness.

Cognitive Schema and Emotional Awareness

Piaget's model for cognitive development has been used as a theoretical basis in a variety of contexts other than the organization of a child's knowledge of the external world. Despite mixed results from empirical testing and valid adjustments to some of Piaget's concepts, Lane and Schwartz, (1987) explained that "the levels of organization that Piaget described do appear to exist, and the sequence of development that he described does appear to apply to many specific domains of cognitive activity" (p. 136). Examples of domains, as cited by Lane et al. (1990), in which researchers created measures based on Piaget's theory were ego development, self-concept, object representation, interpersonal negotiation strategies, moral reasoning, and affect maturity. An advantage of using Piaget's model for creating a measure of emotional awareness is that "the focus is on structure in emotional experience" (p. 125). Having a focus on the structural aspect allows the operational measurement of emotional awareness using self-reports "without regard to the associated representations of significant relationships or enduring personal qualities" (p. 125). Measuring structure rather than self-reported 'enduring personal qualities' or 'relationships' deviates from the usual emotion self-

report method of rating the intensity or frequency of a statement containing an emotion word (Brody & Hall, 1993; Lane et al., 2000). Instead, emotional awareness is measured on a developmental continuum capturing "the variability between individuals in both the ability to monitor internal states as well as the organizational complexity of the experience" (Lane et al., 1990, p. 125). Measuring interoceptive emotional awareness using functional brain imaging, Lane et al. (2000) concluded that there is a strong and positive relationship between interoceptive and exteroceptive capacities consistent with their original formulations that "the same schemas are used to process internal and external sources of emotional information" (p. 497). Thus, it may be entirely possible that the external source of emotional information represented in the form of pressure to conform to the traditional male code influences the formation of cognitive schemata that are also responsible for emotional awareness, directly influencing quality of life.

Transformations in cognitive structure are identified by "a progressive trend toward abstraction and increasing coordination of the individual's schemata" (Lane & Schwartz, 1987, p. 136) and are expected to represent a decrease in characteristics postulated to be associated with normative male alexithymic. In other words, as the level of cognitive functioning increases, a more sophisticated use of emotion words is expected to be evident, there is a progressive ability to experience emotion as a conscious feeling state, the skill of self-observation is enhanced, the ability to experience others as distinct from self becomes possible, and an increased capacity for empathic responding is identifiable. These changes represent a hierarchical increase in the differentiation and integration of emotions from the previous level of functioning (Lane & Schwartz, 1987).

According to Piaget (1981), hierarchical increases or cognitive transformations rely on the processes of assimilation and accommodation. The process of assimilation refers to editing what is taken in to fit the schema (Lane & Schwartz, 1987; Piaget, 1981). This process is similarly reflected in Lewis' (1993) statement that "the appearance of particular emotions may be dependent upon new cognitions" (p. 226). In other words, as new emotions emerge, those emotions will be edited to the degree needed for the current level of cognition available, or that level of cognition must transform. Similarly, the process of accommodation can be described as adjusting the schema to what is taken in (Lane & Schwartz, 1987; Piaget, 1981), which, again, is reflected in the second part of Lewis' statement that "new cognitions may allow for the development of new emotions" (p. 226). Both Piaget and Lewis regarded the interaction between cognition and emotion as reciprocal in a circular fashion, with cognitive capacity and the differentiation of emotions both needing to expand, transform, and change in order to give greater meaning and more complex understanding to an individual's internal world. However, "at the early levels of organization," Lane and Schwartz observed, "the capacity for assimilation is quite limited" (p. 137) because individuals are primarily concerned with and only capable of projecting emotional information out into their environment. This early level of organization and limited capacity for assimilation as described in Lane and Schwartz's levels of emotional awareness could possibly represent the realm of normative male alexithymia being examined in this study (Levant, 1998).

It is precisely the processes of assimilation and accommodation that become disrupted by harsh socialization expectations as experienced by many developing boys in Western culture. In reference to harsh and abusive socialized expectations, Pollack

(2001) commented that a "painful set of relentless practices sanctioned by the boy culture [are] laughed off by many well-meaning parents and teachers" (p. 107). Through his books *Real Boys* (Pollack, 1998b) and *Real Boys' Voices* (Pollack, 2001) and his research at Harvard Medical School involving hundreds of young and adolescent boys, he demonstrated the impact that socialized expectations can have on the cognitive-emotional development of boys. His interviews with his young subjects uncovered their need to live secret emotional lives behind a mask of masculinity and their struggles with rage, violence, sadness, depression, suicide, loneliness, shame, divorce, addictions, bullying, and teasing. Socialized expectations that force boys to restrict their emotional development at a low level of emotional awareness with vulnerable feelings denied, funnelled through angry acting out, and enveloped in shame were revealed through these interviews. "I get a little down," 14-year-old Adam confessed (Pollack, 1998b) "but I'm very good at hiding it. It's like I wear a mask. Even when the kids call me names or taunt me, I never show them how much it crushes me inside. I keep it all in" (p. 3). Pollack (2001) cited 13-year-old Scotty as experiencing restricted emotionality along with potential traumatic violence and the need to avoid all things feminine: "Boys are supposed to shut up and take it, to keep it all in. It's harder for them to release or vent without feeling girly. And that can drive them to shoot themselves" (p. xix). Pollack cautioned that "it is not a minor predicament worrying a small subset of boys, but a constant and widespread problem that is insidiously eating away at the quality of life" (p. 107). Even boys who seem "normal" can be in serious trouble, struggling with the "gender straitjacket" (p. 15) in which society places them. He demonstrated the dramatic and painful impact that the gender straitjacket can have on cognitive-emotional

development, with clear residual fallout in the areas of academic achievement and mental and physical health.

Statistics support Pollack's (1998b) concerns, and in his book *Real Boys* he cited examples as follows:

> Consider the following: in the education system, boys are now twice as likely as girls to be labeled as "learning disabled," constitute up to 67 percent of our "special education" classes, and in some school systems are up to *ten* times more likely to be diagnosed with a serious emotional disorder—most especially attention deficit disorder. . . . Boys' scores on reading are lagging behind [girls] significantly. . . . Recent studies also show that not only is boys' self-esteem more fragile than that of girls and that boys' confidence as learners is impaired, but also that boys are substantially more likely to endure disciplinary problems, be suspended from class, or actually drop out from school entirely. (p. xxiii)

> From elementary grades through high school, boys receive lower grades than girls. Eighth-grade boys are held back 50 percent more often than girls. By high school, boys account for two thirds of the students in special education classes. Fewer boys than girls now attend and graduate from college. (p. 15)

> The rate of depression among today's boys is shockingly high, and statistics now tell us that boys are up to three times more likely than girls to be the victim of a violent crime (other than sexual assault) and between four to six times more likely to commit suicide. (p. xxiii)

It is traditional masculinity ideology that puts boys in a "gender straitjacket," limiting their capacity for emotional awareness and expression and their ability to think and behave freely (Pollack, 1998b). In this study it is expected that the exteroceptive sources of emotional information embedded in the traditional male code as stereotypical expectations will be shown to be related to the restriction of a male's capacity for emotional awareness of other people and his ability to experience vulnerable emotions.

Five Levels of Emotional Awareness

An overview of the characteristics of Lane and Schwartz's (1987) cognitive developmental theory of levels of emotional awareness is presented in Figure 1. The figure makes visible the cumulative nature of emotional awareness regarding changes in structural transformations, the continuous differentiation of emotional states, and the conscious expression of emotion that is required to achieve optimal emotional maturation. The table also provides a simplistic representation of the incremental involvement of the emotion regulating and cognitive processing systems as they pertain to developing levels of emotional awareness. A third component integrated into the table is Lewis' (1993) concepts of emotional states, experiences, and expressions. A fourth component integrated into the table is the hypothesized relationship of traditional masculinity ideology to emotional awareness, emotional regulation and cognitive processing, and Lewis' concepts of emotional states, expressions, and experiences. None of the components identified in the table function in discrete units as necessarily represented in table format.

Lane and Schwartz's (1987) five levels of emotional awareness are similarly applicable to males and females without identifiable gender differences at this point of academic understanding. With this understanding in mind and the focus of this study on male development taken into consideration, references to males in the forthcoming discussion do not make the information provided exclusive to the male gender.

Emotion theory →	STATES ↓	EXPRESSIONS ↓	EXPERIENCES/ AWARENESS ↓	
Cognitive processing & emotional regulation systems	**NEURO PHYSIOLOGICAL** Changes in hormonal/somatic activity & autonomic nervous system & neuroendocrine activity ↓	**MOTOR-EXPRESSIVE** Changes in facial expressions, tone of voice, posture, & general activity level ↓	**COGNITIVE-EXPERIENTIAL** Differentiate, interpret, evaluate state & expression of self and others, verbal report of feeling states, concept of self ↓	**Prevalence of traditional masculinity ideology ↓**
Cognitive-developmental levels of emotional awareness	**LEVEL ZERO** No awareness of bodily sensations	**LEVEL ZERO** Thinking in place of emotional expression	**LEVEL ZERO** No awareness of emotional experience	**High degree of endorsement**
	LEVEL ONE Undifferentiated states may be experienced as bodily sensations	**LEVEL ONE** Involuntary arousal with no or minimal awareness of changes in expression	**LEVEL ONE** No awareness of an emotional experience, Symbiotic relationships, Reflexive empathy	**High degree of endorsement**
	LEVEL TWO Undifferentiated states experienced as global pleasure or distress, Some verbal report of global states	**LEVEL TWO** Global arousal initiates actions to increase pleasure or decrease distress	**LEVEL TWO** No awareness of an emotional experience, No specific emotion, Minimal relationships, Empathy as motor mimicry	**High degree of endorsement**
	LEVEL THREE Limited differentiation & recognition of emotion, Stereotyped verbal report of emotions	**LEVEL THREE** Limited behavioral regulation, Expression more outward than inward	**LEVEL THREE** Awareness of either/or emotions, Recognize external differences in others, Empathy inconsistent	**Moderate degree of endorsement**
	LEVEL FOUR Differentiated emotion and verbal description	**LEVEL FOUR** Behavioral expression regulated	**LEVEL FOUR** Differentiated emotion, Some empathy developed	**Low degree of endorsement**
	LEVEL FIVE Peak differentiation	**LEVEL FIVE** Inward much more than outward	**LEVEL FIVE** Multifaceted awareness of other	**Very low degree of endorsement**

Figure 1. Emotional developmental theories and traditional masculinity ideology

As described by Lane and Schwartz (1987), it is in the first level of emotional awareness (sensorimotor reflexive) that the autonomic and neuroendoerine systems are involuntarily aroused along with automatic facial expressions. This involuntary physiological arousal is expressed as bodily sensations that may or may not be evident to a male functioning at this level. If there is awareness of an emotional state, it would be experienced as a global arousal encompassing the entire person and would be reported by him as a bodily sensitivity. Even though there is often no awareness of the physiological arousal, an observer can see the changes in facial expression, hear the changes in tone of voice, and see the changes in general activity level and posture as the quality of the emotion is physically enacted and projected outward. In Lewis' (1993) terms, there may or may not be conscious awareness of emotional expression, but there will not be an awareness of an emotional experience at this level. Along with these limitations, males functioning at this level may also have a minimal awareness but usually no awareness of another person as separate from themselves. In other words, they relate in a symbiotic manner. As well, their capacity for emotional empathy is undeveloped and therefore reflexive in nature (e.g., upset only when another is upset; Lane & Schwartz, 1987). It is expected that the above-stated criteria represented by level 1 functioning will have a significant relationship with aspects of traditional masculinity ideology; specifically, the avoidance of all things feminine, the overinvestment of self in achievement and work-related activities, restricted emotionality, and a nonrelational attitude toward sex (Levant, 1997b; Levant et al., 1992).

In the second level of emotional awareness (sensorimotor enactive) a male's cognitive capacity allows for an awareness of bodily sensations and an awareness of the

body in action which can erroneously be interpreted by him as an experience of emotion (Cooper & Holmstrom, 1984). It is to be noted that "the ability to experience emotion as a conscious feeling state has not yet developed" (Lane & Schwartz, 1987, p. 138). It is all-consuming bodily experiences of pleasure or distress that initiate a male's physical actions at level 2 functioning, and these actions are aimed at increasing his pleasure or minimizing his distress. The words used to describe his state of pleasure or distress are global in nature and do not refer to a specific emotion (e.g., "I feel bad/good"). Although Lewis (1993) did not refer directly to Lane and Schwartz's theory, he described global self-evaluations of the self-conscious emotions that fit to some degree into this level of functioning. Global self-evaluations were described as causing confused thinking, global attacks on one's self as being bad, a global sense of grandiosity projected outward as contemptuousness, and a disruption of ongoing behaviour. However, an observer of a male functioning at this level of emotional awareness could begin to identify a more specific emotion based on his voluntary and involuntary actions and emotional expressions (e.g., facial expressions, tone of voice, posture). As well, the awareness of another person as a separate individual is minimal, and empathic relating is acted out by trying to do things in the same manner as another individual is doing them. A male functioning at this level is not aware of his style of empathic responding as displayed through action mimicry (Lane & Schwartz, 1987).

Applicable to level 1 and level 2 functioning, Krystal (1990) noted that for individuals who are unable to name and express their emotions, "affects are just a burden to them" (p. 231). Males who are unable to name and express their emotions are the subject of this research, and Krystal's observation illuminates the dilemma in which

many men are caught as they attempt to create quality family relationships while socialized to function as action based in level 2 or as symbiotically attached in level 1 (Lane & Schwartz, 1987). Handicapped by an incomplete cognitive-emotional developmental process and minimal associated skill sets, many men appear to function in a reactive rather than an intentional manner (Saarni, 2000). Their reactions are sometimes manifested as verbal or physical aggression (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995), and it is "unconscious aggression [that] is one of the determinants of unfinished, unresolved mourning" (Krystal, 1988a, p. 3). Resolving unfinished mourning requires having the ability to perceive, identify, and experience vulnerable feelings, a skill not available to traditional males who may be struggling with the limitations of normative male alexithymia while functioning in levels one or two. Add to the enumeration of limitations global self-conscious feelings of unworthiness (feeling bad about self), shame, self-absorption (narcissism), and a poor concept of self (Lewis, 1993), and the associated outcomes could reflect lapses in moral character and ethical values (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995; Saarni, 2000). Pollack (1995) suggested that "if we truly want men to become more empathic, *we need to become more empathic to men*" (p. 35). Becoming more empathic involves a comprehensive examination of the underpinnings of normative male alexithymia and its relevance to emotional awareness and socialized traditional expectations for males, the focus of this study. It is expected that males assessed at levels one and two for emotional awareness will also indicate a strong endorsement of traditional masculine attitudes, suggesting that they also experience the above-mentioned personal and relational difficulties associated with normative male alexithymia.

For males functioning in Lane and Schwartz's (1987) third level of emotional awareness (preoperational), it becomes possible, for the first time, for them to recognize and represent specific emotions as a psychological experience as well as a somatic (bodily) experience. In Lewis' (1993) terms, this level of emotional functioning can be understood as perceiving an emotional experience by interpreting and evaluating emotional states and expressions. In Krystal's (1988a) terms, a male can perceive an emotional experience only if there is a capacity for "sensitive self-observation . . . [and] adequate reflective self-awareness" (p. 6), for "the more precise the recognition of one's feelings, the greater its utility as a signal to oneself" (p. 39). However, it is precision that is lacking in level 3 functioning because emotional states tend to be perfusive with "an 'either/or' quality (e.g., either one is happy or one is sad), but the capacity to experience multiple emotions as part of a single emotional reaction has not yet developed" (Lane & Schwartz, 1987, p. 138). As well, an extensive lexicon of emotion words has yet to evolve, thus creating a situation that emotion words tend to be predictable and stereotypical. The capacity to regulate the amount of emotion expressed to the outside world continues to be limited at this point of development. However, a male functioning in level 3 can perceive other people as different from himself even though the perception of those differences is limited to external characteristics (gender, age, height, race). The capacity for an empathic response to others is inconsistently exercised because it is limited to the perception of specific characteristics, situations, or behaviours (Lane & Schwartz, 1987). As the cumulative ability for emotional self-awareness becomes evident for males functioning in level 3, it is anticipated that their level of endorsement of

traditional masculinity ideology will decrease as compared to that of males functioning in levels 1 and 2.

Males functioning in the fourth level of emotional awareness (concrete operational) have an expanded cognitive capacity and an expanded lexicon of emotion words, thus allowing them to experience and express a wide range of feelings and blends of feelings (Lane & Schwartz, 1987). Blends of feelings result from experiencing complex emotional reactions to emotionally charged situations. The expression of those blends signifies a capacity to differentiate between qualitatively closely related feelings (shame/dishonor/ridicule/humiliation) and quantitatively differing feelings (ecstatic/ happy/content/peaceful) and to simultaneously experience feelings that are opposed (sorrow and relief). Males functioning at this level are able to effectively communicate their subjective emotional experience to others through complex descriptions of their differentiated emotional states. Accompanying this increased coherence is "a greater appreciation of how emotional experiences can change over time and can supplement rather than supplant one another" (Lane & Schwartz, 1987, p. 138). "Emotions recognized, received and acknowledged," elaborated Krystal (1999), "produce the experience of wholeness and competence. What we cannot accept lovingly and peaceably . . . must be consciously accepted, tolerated, [and] accommodated to" (p. 8). The more complex capacity in level 4 is accompanied by an increased ability to regulate emotional extremes through optimism or hope in difficult situations and to maintain awareness of conflicting emotions for another person during difficult circumstances. The capacity for experiencing another person as distinct and different from self is fully developed, with an ability to perceive differences in external attributes (gender, age, height, race) as well as

differences in internal attributes (feelings, values, beliefs). There is a significant decrease in the tendency to represent emotions through actions as previously experienced in level 2 functioning (sensorimotor enactive stage). Furthermore, because of the increased awareness of self and others, males at this level can more readily anticipate the impact of their actions and expressions on the well-being of others and anticipate another person's responses. This increased capacity influences the capacity for empathic responding; however, empathic responding remains "unidimensional" in level 4 functioning. In other words, empathic function "is relatively undifferentiated compared with one's awareness of one's own experience" (Lane & Schwartz, 1987, p. 138). Even though empathic capacity is not optimal, emotional awareness is fully available, and for males functioning at this level there may be a correlation between increased emotional awareness and a decreased tendency to endorse the traditional masculine code (Levant, 1995b; Lewis, 1993; Pleck, 1995).

In the fifth level of emotional awareness (formal operational), the major progression forward is demonstrated through achieving an advanced capacity for empathy (Lane & Schwartz, 1987). It is the further differentiation of one's own emotional states through self-observation, awareness of multiple emotions, regulation of emotional expression, and an enhanced lexicon of emotion words that the ability to fully appreciate the emotional experience of others has developed. Developing the capacity for empathy to its fullest extent allows the multidimensional perception of another's experience while remaining unbiased by one's own emotional state, thus enabling a male functioning at this level to more adequately anticipate and meet the needs of others. "By anticipating the needs and reactions of others," Lane and Schwartz explained, "one is

better able to find courses of action that meet the needs of all involved" (p. 139), a valued skill in both personal and occupational situations (Goleman, 1995; Saarni, 1997b, 1999). As well, the capacity to perceive situations and self through another's interpretation becomes possible, and "there is now the capacity to mix or blend feelings of varying qualities and intensities into new patterns even though such patterns have never been modeled or described by others" (Lane and Schwartz, 1987, p. 138). Descriptions of the subtle nuances between emotions are often unique and metaphorically expressed, and there is an increased capacity to experience immediate present feelings that can be utilized to anticipate future feelings—all contributing to an increased sense of personal well-being. The ability to differentiate between self and other is optimal in level 5 functioning, enabling a male to develop a concept of self and other that recognizes uniqueness and shared characteristics. It is hypothesized that a male functioning in level 5 also has a low endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology.

It is important to note that a male's cognitive functioning does not reside exclusively in any one level at any given time (Lane & Schwartz, 1987). As each subsequent level transforms, the functions of the lower levels are not eliminated (Lane & Schwartz, 1992), so the actual level of emotional awareness and the associated behaviours are fluid and not discrete as a simplified written representation implies. The cognitive-developmental model of the levels of emotional awareness is intended to be a conceptual framework systematically integrating various theories to assist in understanding individual differences in how changes in emotion development are experienced and expressed. These understandings are expected to contribute to developmental theories pertinent to the new psychology of men.

Gender Bifurcated Socialization and Normative Male Alexithymia

The perspective taken by the new psychology of men acknowledges the biological differences between men and women. From that position this perspective elaborates beyond simple anatomical maleness, biological maturation, and outdated notions of polarized male-female sex role identities to new paradigms and understandings about gender role strain and masculinity ideologies (Pleck, 1981; Thompson & Pleck, 1995). It is now generally accepted that the older concept of masculinity and femininity as inherent polarities is, in Levant's (1996) words, "a failure-prone process" (p. 260), and that masculinity and femininity are better understood as overlapping concepts on a continuum (Gilmore, 1990; Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1993b). It is the traditional male component on that continuum and the traditional bifurcated construction of gender roles and their relationship to emotional awareness that this study pursues. It is also the fallacy of proposing a universal, unchanging, historically invariant explanation of masculinity and the associated disadvantage of attempting to rise to that perceived universal standard that this study is examining. That disadvantage is, at least in part, normative male alexithymia. Supportive of this perspective, Gilmore's (1990) cross-cultural exploration of men and masculinity demonstrated the falseness of a universal socio-biological explanation of traditional manhood. He stated that "there are many societies where 'aggressive' hunting never played an important role, where men do not bond for economic purposes, where violence or war are devalued or unknown, and yet where men are today concerned about demonstrating manhood" (p. 25).

Also relevant to proposing an errant universal and invariant explanation of masculinity are the varying definitions of manhood that may be due to differences

associated with vocation pursued. Vocational experiences and educational level as connected with social class or socioeconomic status have been linked with outcomes that directly affect a male's quality of life and capacity for emotional competence (Liu, 2002). A summation of William Liu's review of research in the area of social class and the socialization of men indicated that lower-class men tend to have poor health behaviors, high rates of coronary heart disease, a tendency to use alcohol, high rates of premature death and mortality, careers and male-typical behaviors that are related to higher rates of mortality, work-related stress and conflict, poor social supports, a higher frequency of depression, anxiety and aggression, and more psychiatric disorders. Lower-class men were also found to be more inclined to participate in dangerous sexual behavior, to be exposed to chronic stressors and hostility, and to be overweight. These tendencies that are attributed to social class may have some relationship to the gender bifurcated socialization of men and normative male alexithymia.

An encapsulation of features postulated to be associated with normative male alexithymia begins with the concept of alexithymia as a deficit in the cognitive processing and regulation of emotion states, expressions, and experiences on the mild to moderate end of the alexithymia continuum (Levant, 1995b). This deficit involves the incomplete development of the structures and schemas necessary for processing emotional states and regulating emotions (Lane & Schwartz, 1987; Parker et al., 1998; Taylor, 1984, 1994, 2000; Taylor et al., 1990). The characteristics of this deficit are well documented in the literature and may be represented by the presence of the following criteria, keeping in mind, Krystal (1999) reminded us, "that the degree and severity of alexithymia can vary from person to person or within the same person" (p. 20).

1. a low capacity for self-observation of internal processes (Berenbaum & James, 1994; Krystal, 1979, 1982, 1988a, 1999; Prince & Berenbaum, 1993);
2. a lack of perception of emotional expressiveness (Jessimer & Markham, 1997; Krystal, 1988a, 1999; Lane & Schwartz, 1987; Parker, Taylor, & Bagby, 1993);
3. a low awareness of emotional experiences manifested in restricted emotionality (Berenbaum & James, 1994; Krystal, 1988a, 1999; Lane & Schwartz, 1987);
4. an undeveloped concept of self as manifested in the inability to identify and experience vulnerable, self-conscious emotions, and the avoidance of all things feminine (Berenbaum & James, 1994; Krystal, 1982, 1990; Taylor, 1984);
5. an inadequate lexicon of emotion words (Apfel & Sifneos, 1979; Cox, Kuch, Parker, Shulman, & Evans, 1994; Krystal, 1979, 1982, 1990; Lane & Schwartz, 1987; Sifneos, 1988; Taylor, 2000);
6. projecting emotion states outward through action-based behaviour, outbursts of emotion, and/or anger and aggression (Apfel & Sifneos, 1979; Krystal, 1979, 1988a, 1990; Lane, Ahern, Schwartz, & Kaszniak, 1997; Nemiah et al., 1976; Taylor, 1984, 1994);
7. a high external locus of control sometimes manifested in being super-adjusted to reality (Krystal, 1979, 1988a, 1999; Taylor, 1984; Wise & Mann, 1993);
8. a low capacity for empathy (Krystal, 1990, 1999; Levant & Brooks, 1997; Parker et al., 1998; Taylor, 1984; Taylor et al., 1997);

9. nonrelational sexual activity (Taylor, 2000);
10. low imaginal capacity manifested in simplistic dreams that resemble waking thoughts (Krystal, 1988a, 1988b; Nemiah & Sifneos, 1970; Parker, Bauermann, & Smith, 2000; Taylor et al., 1997);
11. neglect of health care (Bach & Bach, 1995; Finn, Martin, & Pihl, 1987; Kauhanen, Kaplan, Cohen, Julkunen, & Salonen, 1996; Krystal, 1988a, 1988b; Lane & Schwartz, 1987; Taylor, 1994, 2000);
12. heightened activation of the autonomic nervous system experienced as tension (Finn, Martin, & Pihl, 1987; Krystal, 1988a; Lane, Ahern, et al., 1997; Taylor, 1994; Taylor et al., 1997); and
13. *pensée opératoire* (operative thinking) manifested in a preoccupation with the mundane details of life, a monotony of ideas, and conversations that are bound by the effects of external stimuli (thing oriented) rather than by emotions and memory (Bagby, Parker, & Taylor, 1994; Krystal, 1990, 1999; Lane, Reiman, et al., 1998; Schaffer, 1993).

This examination of normative male alexithymia as it relates to the gender-bifurcated socialization of male emotional development rests on previous empirical research that demonstrated a positive relationship between males and alexithymia (Bagby et al., 1994; Blanchard, Arena, & Pallmeyer, 1981; Lane et al., 1998; Levant, Majors, et al., 2003; Parker et al., 1993; Smith, 1983; Taylor, Parker, Bach, & Bourke, 1996). A higher level of alexithymia among males than in females cannot be thought of as a firm conclusion (Parker, Taylor, & Bagby, 1989) because varying sociodemographic and confounding variables influence outcomes, as Haviland, Hendryx, Shaw, and Henry

(1994) found in their clinical study in which women scored higher than men and as Pandey, Mandal, Taylor, and Parker (1996) found in their study of a non-Western culture in which women also scored higher than men. However, in the area of emotional awareness, a defining characteristic of alexithymia (Lane, Ahern, et al., 1997), more consistent results were evident. In this area of research, Feldman Barrett et al. (2000) reported that "sex difference appears to be a stable, highly generalizable effect (p. 1031)." The findings from eight studies (Feldman Barrett, et al., 2000; Levine et al., 1997) supported the concept of sex differences in the capacity to represent the differentiation of emotional states. Males in seven of the studies, three of which controlled for verbal intelligence, consistently scored lower than did females in their representations of complexity and differentiation of emotional awareness in themselves and others (Feldman Barrett et al., 2000). These findings were consistent with a previously conducted study by Levine et al. (1997). Feldman Barrett et al. (2000) concluded the article "Sex Differences in Emotional Awareness" with the statement, "The next question to address is why" (p. 1034). Feldman Barrett et al.'s question is in keeping with the purpose of this study. An exploration of the literature regarding traditional masculinity ideology and the emotional socialization of Western males may offer some constructive ideas that reflect on the question.

Traditional Masculinity Ideology and the Gender Role Strain Paradigm

Understanding the proposed perspective requires clarity regarding the frequently used terms *masculinity ideology* and *traditional masculinity ideology* (Thompson & Pleck, 1995). Masculinity ideology, as described by Pleck et al. (1993a), refers to the "endorsement and internalization of cultural belief systems about masculinity and the

male gender, rooted in the structural relationship between the two sexes" (p. 207). This concept is embedded in a social-constructionism approach to gender that respects the genesis of each male's ideology or belief system as being highly individualized and contingent upon specific contexts, a unique social history, and current cognitive-emotional developmental functioning (Pleck, 1995; Saarni, 1999). In social constructionism, the emphasis is on a reciprocal relationship between a man's lifelong adaptation to gender expectations as well as on how those expectations have influenced his adaptation. Consistent with this approach, masculinity is viewed, in part, as the product of an interactive process with one's culture, family, and peers rather than as a set of characteristics based on a man's level of masculine traits, his psychological profile, or his biology. Empirical research (O'Neil et al., 1995; Pleck, 1995; Pleck et al., 1993a, 1993b; Thompson & Pleck, 1995) has demonstrated support for the masculinity ideology perspective and the concept that many male behaviours are a function of male beliefs about what masculinity ought to be rather than dependent on particular male traits or tendencies. The masculinity ideology perspective allows for many versions of masculinity, otherwise understood as masculinity ideologies or masculinities.

The masculinity ideology concept evolved from Joseph Pleck's (1981) foundational construction of the 'gender role strain paradigm,' which challenged the previously popular view of gender role-based expectations (gender role identity paradigm). The older notion, gender role-based expectations, assumes that a mature, psychologically healthy individual needs to embrace his or her traditional gender role to the greatest extent possible in order to meet inner psychological needs and in order to acquire optimal personality development (Levant, 1996). Pleck (1981, 1995) challenged

this notion as creating strain, difficulties, and dysfunctional behaviour for men and women and proposed the gender role strain paradigm. The foundational propositions of the gender role strain paradigm were an integration of previous social-psychological concepts (Hartley, 1959; Komarovsky, 1976; Pleck, 1995). Levant (1996) provided a summary of these propositions and the strain and difficulties created by role-based expectations as follows:

1. contemporary gender roles are contradictory and inconsistent;
2. the proportion of persons who violate gender roles is high;
3. violation of gender roles leads to condemnation and negative psychological consequences;
4. actual or imagined violation of gender roles leads people to over conform to them;
5. violation of gender roles has more severe consequences for men than for women; and
6. certain prescribed gender role traits (such as male aggression) are often dysfunctional. (p. 260)

Pleck (1981, 1995) identified three types of strain that are viewed as being associated with attempting to meet traditional male role expectations. The first is discrepancy strain, which results "when one fails to live up to one's internalized manhood ideal" (Levant, 1996, p. 261). In the long-term, it appears that a significant number of males fail to fulfill the expectations of the traditional male role (Pleck, 1995).

The second type of strain is dysfunction strain. Attempts at fulfilling the requirements of the traditional male code can create negative side effects for males and those in relationship with them. Dysfunctional strain has been demonstrated through empirical research as being associated with outcomes such as low self-esteem, anxiety, depression, substance abuse, aggressiveness, delinquent behaviour, poor health practices, and impaired social networks (Davis & Schwartz, 1987; O'Neil et al., 1986; Pleck, 1981, 1995).

Pleck (1995) termed the third type of gender role strain trauma strain and commented that the concept of trauma is playing an increasingly important role in clinical fields (van der Kolk, McFarlane, & Weisaeth, 1996). Consistent with Krystal's (1988a) use of the term to mean "no more than an injury" (p. 217), trauma, in this case, is being defined as an overwhelming emotional experience, the overwhelming experience being the ordeal of the male role socialization process for which an individual's defence measures may not be sufficiently competent, thereby creating a potentially traumatic situation. Accordingly, the socialization process is viewed as continually suppressing and channeling boys' natural emotionality to such an extent that it becomes normal for an adult male (a) to be less emotionally empathic than females, (b) to struggle with normative male alexithymia, (c) to be more prone to express anger aggressively, (d) to transform vulnerable emotions into anger, (e) to be less able to tolerate emotional intimacy, and (f) to be more likely to prefer nonrelational sexuality (Levant, 1997a).

In summary, a process that trains male children "to be tough, aggressive, competitive, and emotionally stoic is inherently traumatic" (Levant, 1997b, p. 16). "Events become traumatic when the child is either biologically or socially unable to master the situation, and, instead of true mastery (technique), the child learns to hide . . . frustration . . . by means of defenses which lead to control rather than mastery" (Ruesch, 1948, p. 135). It is the trauma-strain perspective that is viewed as offering "a promising new direction in the understanding of masculinity," according to Pleck (1995); and it is the trauma-strain perspective and the connecting thread of restricted emotionality among the three variations of strain that this research seeks to more clearly elucidate.

Implicit in Pleck's (1981, 1995) gender role strain paradigm is the notion that there is no single standard for masculinity. Following that, there also cannot be a single, unvarying masculinity ideology if different ideals of manhood are respected according to social class, race, ethnic group, sexual orientation, life stage, and historical era (Lazur & Majors, 1995; Levant, 1996; Pollack, 1995). In contrast to respecting differing ideals of manhood, *traditional* masculinity ideology is understood as a set of rigid standards, roles, and stereotyped expectations to which males must adhere if they wish to consider themselves real men and if they wish to convince observers of the same. Traditional masculinity ideology, also referred to as the traditional male code, is based on gender role-based expectations for masculinity that "in our society are impossible to achieve and lead only to pain, loss, and a false, too vulnerable sense of self-esteem" (Pollack, 1995, p. 58). A high endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology was found to be positively related to being male (Levant, Cuthbert, et al., 2003; Levant & Fischer, 1996; Levant & Majors, 1997; Levant, Majors, et al., 2003). Nationality—in particular, African American, Chinese, and Russian—was also positively related, as was being younger, sexually active, single, a regular attendant of church, and less inclined to seek an education (Levant, Cuthbert, et al., 2003; Levant, Majors, & Kelly, 1998; Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1994).

Traditional masculinity ideology is of particular importance to this study because it is hypothesized that males who are socialized to endorse or believe in a set of rigid traditional standards may also have a low capacity for emotional awareness. Men's attempts to meet the impossible stereotyped expectations of traditional masculinity

ideology give room for the possibility of a restricted emotional life (Levant, 1998; O'Neil et al., 1995) and, more broadly, the development of normative male alexithymia.

The Socialization of Emotional Awareness

The significance of a socialization process that restricts the cognitive awareness of emotional states, expressions, and experiences throughout a male's developmental years cannot be overstated. The socialization of emotional states and expressions begins with the infant's attachment relationships and the caretaker's stereotypical beliefs about gender that seem to influence the ways in which adults interact emotionally with young infants (Fabes & Martin, 1991). Sex differences in expressive behaviours emerge very early in life. These differences were found to be differentiated, purposeful, and largely the product of social conditioning (Haviland & Malatesta, 1981). In a review of data from 12 studies, Haviland and Malatesta reported that boy infants

> have a tendency to cry sooner and at a higher frequency than girls. In general, they are more irritable, less soothable, and have a higher intensity of crying during the first year. They also startle more readily, show more lability of state, with a more rapid buildup of tension and quicker peak of excitement than females. . . . The above findings seem to indicate that boys are more emotionally labile and become distressed more easily than females, at least during infancy. (p. 196)

Haviland and Malatesta (1981) suggested that the more labile boy infant elicits a unique caretaking style from the parents as the parents attempt to interpret his nonverbal signals, respond to them, and influence or alter the form and perhaps even the meaning of the boy infant's expressions. In other words, the boy infant is being socialized to reduce and/or alter his emotional expressiveness to meet preconceived stereotypical expectations of male behaviour. Pertinent to preconceived stereotypical notions of male behaviour, Haviland and Malatesta found that sex labelling alone can have a profound influence on

an adult's interpretation of an infant's nonverbal signals. When they labelled a boy infant as a "girl," the infant was seen as expressing joy twice as often as when viewed as a boy. Labelling the girls as "boys" caused a very dramatic change. They were seen nearly twice as often as more angry, fearful, and distressed. There was also a difference in *to what* mothers responded; notably, when boy infants expressed pain, they were ignored 95% of the time. Infants whose mothers ignored their signals of pain were reported to display more negative emotion by age two (Malatesta-Magai, 1991). In another study, Malatesta, Culver, Tesman, and Shepard (1989) found that mothers displayed fewer and less intense emotional expressions to their sons than they did to their daughters, and, through mirroring, boy infants were exposed to fewer and less intense emotions than were girl infants. In summary, boy infants' emotional expressions were viewed more negatively than those of girl infants, and the boy infants' expressions elicited more control, and less frequent and less intense emotional responses from their mothers. This may be because boy infants appear to be more prone to expressing negative affect. However, the boys' tendency to be *more* emotionally labile and *less* responsive to socialization at this early age suggested to Haviland and Malatesta that they will become "targets for more intensive socialization efforts later on since cultural ideals dictate stoicism and control in males. . . . Boys appear to start out in life as more emotionally labile than their sisters, but end up less expressive" (p. 202).

Cassidy's (1994) findings indicated that an infant's temperament is influenced by his/her emotional reactivity to events in the context of the attachment relationship. "The infant's emotional-expressive behavior *is* its communicative repertoire for signaling its caregivers to interact with it," explained Saarni (1999, p. 290). "The caregivers, in turn,

differentially respond to the infant's emotional-expressive behavior, socializing it according to their beliefs and conscious or unconscious needs" (p. 290). Malatesta et al.'s (1989) research in this area supported Cassidy's and Saarni's belief that over time the infant's emotional-expressive behaviour may become more of a reflection of the caregiver's socialization patterns than his/her temperament-linked reactivity to events. This possibility assists in understanding Cassidy's observation that insecure-avoidantly attached infants appeared to be very aware of suppressing their negative emotional behavior and negative emotional expression around their parents. There appears to be pressure on some infants to minimize their expression of negative emotion as a way of creating a safe environment and gaining parental *acceptance* of their emotional experience. If the pressure to restrict emotionality, is accompanied by the endorsement of other aspects of the traditional male code, room is made for the insidious onset of characteristics associated with the development of normative male alexithymia in male infants. In order to create an emotionally secure base and find parental acceptance, infants tend to internalize and accept their mutated version of the expected emotional response (Saarni, 1999). If the traditional male code is operant in the family, male infants may be expected to restrict their emotional awareness by denying the existence of emotional states and/or adopting false emotional fronts. In a situation of denial of states, the development of cognitive schema for the continuous transformation of structures involved in the perception and evaluation of emotional states and expressions that underlies the development of emotional competence would be hindered. Saarni stated concern regarding the "chronic adoption of emotional fronts" (p. 99). Over time, she felt

that emotional awareness might be "dampened or 'bleached,'" due to the reduced amount of social feedback.

High levels of alexithymia have been associated with individuals whose childhood experiences have involved familial socialization pressures to restrict the awareness of emotional states and expressions. These individuals reported feeling less emotionally safe in their family environment (Berenbaum & James, 1994). In support of this view, Cassidy (1994) found that the highest degree of *variability* in infant emotional-expressive behaviour came from caregivers who created a secure attachment that allowed the acknowledgement and expression of a wide range of emotions. Context also played a significant role in Casey's (1993) research, where sex differences were found in the influence that social evaluation had on boys' and girls' emotional experiences. Boys were found to be less expressive of both positive and negative emotions regardless of the nature of the social evaluation, and they also differed from girls in that they were less aware of their facial expressions. Other researchers have also found that boys and men, as compared to girls and women, demonstrated a greater difficulty at encoding facial expressions (Buck, 1977; Buck, Miller, & Caul, 1974; Hall, 1978, 1984; Saarni, 1999). This is generally attributed to males in our culture being discouraged from identifying and displaying emotional expression, thereby having less practice at developing this skill.

Lane et al. (1995) in their research with adults regarding the perception of facial emotion presented results suggesting that an individual's capacity to differentiate facial emotions is positively related to that individual's level of emotional awareness. Eight studies (Feldman Barrett et al., 2000; Levine et al., 1997) measuring sex differences in level of emotional awareness found that males scored significantly lower than did

females in this capacity, suggesting that the difficulties in perceiving facial expressions may be associated with a cognitive deficit in the capacity to be emotionally aware.

Wintre and Vallance (1994; as cited in Saarni, 1999) researched emotional awareness in children. By assessing children's capacity to recognize multiple emotional responses in themselves, they found that boys have less ability than do girls to combine separate emotions. These findings were consistent with research conducted by Golombok and Fivush (1994), who found boys to be generally less aware of their emotions and less expressive than girls. Notably, in an extensive and systematic review of the literature and associated data on gender stereotypes in emotional functioning, Brody and Hall (1993) were "surprised by the consistency of the literature" (p. 457). They commented that "gender differences in peer and family socialization patterns matched later gender differences documented in emotional expression, experience, and recognition (to an almost unprecedented extent, in our experience)" (p. 457).

The Socialization of Vulnerable Emotions

In the area of experiencing vulnerable emotions, Strayer (1989) found that boys self-reported significantly less sadness and fear than did girls; and, notably, 70% of all neutral responses in her study were made exclusively by boys. Fivush (1989, 1991) demonstrated that both mothers and fathers talked less about sadness with their preschool sons than they did with their preschool daughters. Similar reports were made by Brody and Hall (1993) in their review of the literature and by Saarni (1988), who found that boys were significantly more attentive than girls to the need to conceal their fear. Terwogt and Olthof (1989) found the pressure for boys to conceal their fear to be particularly stringent among male peers, who might view a display of fear as cowardly.

For perhaps similar reasons, boys were found to be extremely reluctant to reveal sadness to their fathers or embarrassing secrets to a friend, but they would consider sharing these vulnerable emotions with their mothers. They anticipated that their mothers would not embarrass them (Fuchs & Thelen, 1988). The socialization of boys' vulnerable emotions within the family unit was also studied by Langlois and Downs (1980) and Fagot and Hagan (1991), who found that fathers tended to signal disapproval and to withhold affection from their older male children when they witnessed gender-inappropriate play. In a study involving an American subculture, Underwood, Coie, and Herbsman (1992) speculated that African American boys felt pressured to present themselves as stoic, unexcitable, restrained, and nondisclosing. The tendency for males to be nondisclosing was also demonstrated in a study by Stapley and Haviland (1989), who reported that "boys may deny having a memory of experiencing any emotion (with the exception of happy)" (p. 306).

Boys readily understand that individuals who are important to them, such as parents, react in predictable ways to any display of emotion, but in particular to a display of vulnerable emotions or vulnerable behaviour by a male. Merging in importance with a boy displaying vulnerable emotions is for him to *appear* vulnerable by choosing feminine sex-typed activities, games, and toys. Golombok and Fivush (1994) cited studies that confirmed parents' tendencies to differentially reinforce their sons' and daughters' play and activities according to stereotypical gender expectations. Saarni (1988) demonstrated that, indeed, adults tended to want to control boys' reactions and behaviours, particularly when they displayed "genuine emotions in situations in which they were vulnerable" (p. 196). The solution to this dilemma for boys is that they often avoid all things feminine

and take a stance of denial that emotion-evoking situations could ever have an impact on them. In other words, they numb themselves to their emotional states or conceal vulnerable reactions and vulnerable-appearing choices. A concern with this ever-present socialization process is that concealment, denial, and detachment become the "natural thing" to do (Terwogt & Olthof, 1989).

The Socialization of Emotion Language

Individuals who are more emotionally aware are theoretically better able to identify and label emotional responses in themselves (Krystal, 1999; Lane, Kivley, Du Bois, Shamasundara, & Schwartz, 1995). Gender differences in the socialization of emotional expressiveness are considered to be attributable, at least in part, to the differential development of language in boys and girls (Brody & Hall, 1993) and socialized expectations that discourage boys from using a lexicon of emotion words. Gleason, Hay, and Cain (1989) contended that boys develop language skills more slowly than do girls and that they remain at a disadvantage throughout the developmental years. Parents may bring their own gender expectations to bear on this difference because they tend to talk less to their sons about emotions than they do to their daughters (Brody & Hall, 1993). Dunn, Bretherton, and Munn (1987) found that boys under three years of age received fewer comments and inquiries from their mothers and older siblings about their feelings than did girls, thereby creating fewer opportunities for self-reflection and the articulation of emotion states. Similarly, in another study with preschoolers, Fivush (1991) observed that mothers tended to "embed their discussions of feelings in social frameworks more with their daughters than with their sons" (p. 153). Cervantes and Callanan (1998; as cited in Saarni, 1999) also found sex differences in the use of emotion

language in preschoolers. Preschool boys were found to use emotion-related words less frequently than were preschool girls. Older boys were reported by Eisenberg and Lennon (1983) to be less able than were girls to verbally express a wide variety of emotions. Nolen-Hoeksema (1990) theorized that adult males, in contrast to adult females, who tend to ruminate, distract themselves from experiencing and expressing emotions by externalizing with action-based behaviours and language. As suggested by Levant and Kopecky (1995), fathers often participate in the tendency to distract their sons from self-reflecting on emotion states by "engaging boys in verbal rough-housing" (p. 61).

Brody and Hall (1993) hypothesized that through language the communication and meaning of a private experience becomes a shared experience. Their point was that private nonverbal experiences "may become deniable both to others and to the self, merging into the unconsciousness" (p. 456). This is precisely the contention of men's studies scholars in their understanding of the developmental and relational losses that occur for males through the gender bifurcated socialization of language. Accompanying the loss of language is the loss of voice and relationships (Brooks, 1998; Levant, 1990b, 1994, 1998; Pollack, 1998a, 2001).

The Socialization of Anger and Aggression

Saarni, (1999) emphasized "the inseparability of emotional and social experience in human development" (p. 302), and she believed that the same close association would figure prominently in an examination of emotional "incompetence" involving lack of emotional regulation. Whatever the name given to this aspect of social expression—lack of emotional regulation, aggression, anger, negative emotionality, violence—Brooks and Silverstein (1995) argued that there needs to be "an examination of the conflicting

cultural messages routinely given to men about these issues" (p. 296). Brod (1987) acknowledged the cultural acceptance and socialization of aggression and violence in males in his discussion of the prevalent 'boys will be boys' attitude.

Subtle and not so subtle cultural messages seem to generally encourage and approve of anger and aggression in males and ignore men's psychic pain that is associated with gender role strain. Brooks and Silverstein (1995) cited two studies conducted by Harway and Hansen (1993) that qualify this point. The studies were designed to assess therapists' sensitivity to family violence, with a total of 810 qualified therapists asked to comment on cases that, unbeknownst to them, implicated family violence. The second study was a case that involved extreme violence resulting in murder. Forty percent of the therapists in one study failed to identify the issues of male aggression and violence. In the second study, most of the therapists focused on the couple's marital problems or pathology in both the husband and wife. "Only 16% of the respondents diagnosed the husband alone" (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995, pp. 315-316), and after the lethal outcome of the case was revealed, "only 50% indicated that the correct intervention would have been to seek protection for the wife" (p. 316).

Part of the subtle socialization lies in gender-differentiated expressions of approval and connecting as indicated by studies in which mothers smiled less at sons than at daughters, and parents made less of an effort to get their infant boys to smile and used fewer affectionate terms than they did with infant girls (Haviland & Malatesta, 1981). Parents were also found by Fivush, (1991) and Brody (1985) to be socializing their sons to accept retaliation as an appropriate response to anger. It follows, then, that guilt was found to be less prevalent in boys than in girls following an act of aggression (Eagly &

Steffen, 1986) and that boys were more likely to believe that aggression increased self-esteem (Slaby & Guerra, 1988). Several studies demonstrated the conflictual messages that boys receive through the socialization of their behaviour. Even though parents tended to punish aggression more often in boys than in girls (in the moment), they also valued aggression more in boys and encouraged it in different ways by having a greater acceptance of anger in them (Zahn-Waxler, Cole, & Barrett, 1991). Zeman and Shipman's (1998) findings suggested that children perceive their parents as more accepting of emotional expression than their peers, which included boys' endorsement of more aggressive strategies in contrast to girls' endorsement of affective strategies.

Strayer (1989) found that boys reported angry responses more often than did girls while watching video scenarios, and these angry reactions or negative emotionality were found to be socially ineffective behaviour, particularly for boys (Eisenberg, Fabes, Nyman, Bernzweig, & Pinuelas, 1994). Davis (1995) and Casey (1993) found that boys do display negative emotionality more often than do girls.

In a 1984 meta-analysis of 143 studies of gender differences in aggression, Hyde found that boys were more aggressive than were girls, as did Frodi et al. in their earlier review of the literature regarding aggression in adults in 1977. Frodi et al. determined that men are more likely to be physically aggressive and more likely to engage in "face-to-face verbal aggression" (p. 654) than women are when aroused. Eagly and Steffen's (1986) meta-analytic review of sex differences in aggression found that, on the average, men were somewhat more aggressive that women were, particularly in the area of aggression that could cause pain or physical injury. In all of these reviews, the researchers qualified the sex differences as being a function of perceived consequences or

social context or whether self-report measures were used. Brody and Hall (1993) suggested that the socialization influences that cause males to learn emotion-related language later in life create a situation in which boys are without the language skills "to curb aggressive behavioral modes of emotional expression" (p. 456). Therefore, they may "learn to increase the frequency and intensity of their nonverbal expression of feelings . . . in order to communicate their needs" (p. 456), particularly in the areas of anger and aggression. Saarni (1999) concurred with this view in her description of boys acquiring "'invisible' emotion management strategies" (p. 209) as manifested in increased physiological change and tendencies to act on situations through aggression, avoidance, and attempts at change.

The Socialization of a High External Locus of Control

Locus of control denotes how a male behaves within a social system. Males with an external locus of control would tend to expect the consequences of their efforts and behaviour to depend on forces outside themselves, such as luck or the actions of powerful others (Colman, 2001). Wise and Mann (1993) found that individuals with a high external locus of control tended to be more alexithymic, with the associated inability to self-reflect and be emotionally self-aware. Socializing a boy to develop an external locus of control is part of the male socialization process necessary to enact adult patterns of overinvestment of self in work and achievement. Along with the socialization process comes a low capacity for emotional awareness and many "values and skills that are taught to young boys [but] are far more appropriate for the workplace than for family life" (Pasick, 1990, p. 38)—skills such as having an external locus of control based on competitiveness, autonomy, and independence (Levant 1995b; Pasick, 1990). Stapley and

Haviland (1989) found that adolescent boys, indeed, did find more emotional saliency through their activities and achievements than did adolescent girls, who favoured affiliation. They attributed this sex difference to socialization pressures.

Smetana (1989) found that mothers were more likely to use power assertion through commands with boys than with girls, thus allowing the girls a chance to self-reflect on internal preferences. Zahn-Waxler et al. (1991) noted that Smetana's finding is consistent with a large body of literature indicating that parental child-rearing techniques regarding social control appear to become biased in this manner before any sex differences in aggression are evident. The tendency to rear boys in this manner may encourage them to respond to an external locus of control rather than to develop the capacity for self-observation and emotional competence. A socialization process that regularly promotes looking outside self for direction and validation can have negative long-term consequences. The long-term consequences are sometimes difficult to identify because this type of training can assist in the development of adaptive coping strategies such as problem solving that appear as greater social competence (Eisenberg et al., 1993). However, a persistent focus on coping strategies that rely on an external validation can set the stage for a robot-like existence (Krystal, 1999), with tendencies toward normative male alexithymia.

Krystal (1979) referred to an alexithymic individual as having "a *super-adaptation to external reality*, a robot-like adjustment to inner and outer pressure" (p. 23). He explained that the alexithymic condition is deceptive to those unfamiliar with it. Individuals who often function "very successfully in their work, appear 'superadjusted' to reality and lead one to expect excellent intellectual function" (Krystal,

1988a, p. 247). However, once past the superficial impression of superb functioning, it is revealed that attention is preoccupied with the monotonous details of their environment, and the ability to relate with any depth is compromised (Krystal, 1988a, 1999; Horney, 1952/1991).

Block and Robins (1993) conducted a longitudinal study that examined changes in self-esteem and personality for adolescents aged 14 years as they matured to 23 years. The findings revealed that at age 23, men with high self-esteem were likely to view themselves as resisting others' dependence on them and as not seeking reassurance from others. They appeared to be more concerned with interpersonal independence, and this contrasted with women with high self-esteem who, at the same age, were more concerned with interpersonal connection. Interpersonal independence is one of the subjects covered in Weiss' (1990; as cited in Levant & Kopecky, 1995) book *Staying the Course: The Emotional and Social Lives of Men Who Do Well at Work*. Levant and Kopecky quoted Weiss as saying, "Quite apart from income, satisfactory work provides men with a sense of worth and of place that together provide a foundation for their . . . lives" (p. 177). Consistent with Weiss' view, Pasick's (1990) interpretation was that a man's self-esteem is directly linked to his vocation and income and that a boy's training to invest himself wholeheartedly in his vocation and income begins as early as preschool. The consequences of a lifetime of training often results in workaholism in adult life, which Pasick considered to be "the most significant predictor of family strain" (p. 111). Understandably so, as workaholic behaviours rely on Type A tendencies for competition, multiphasic functioning, a continuous sense of time urgency, impatience, and easily aroused underlying hostility (Wright, 1988). Brooks and Gilbert (1995) pointed out that

the ability to work hard and provide for the family is often a way of demonstrating loyalty and love. However, in Western culture, where the traditional male code is in effect, the significance placed on work and achievement far exceeds basic good intentions and places extreme psychological pressure on males to exceed, sometimes to the point of what Pleck (1981) termed *breadwinner suicides*.

The Socialization of Empathy

Because nurturance and emotionality are stereotypically attributed to females (Eisenberg & Lennon, 1983), there is reason to believe that there might be sex differences in empathic behaviour for males and females. In fact, various researchers found that girls generally reported feeling more empathy than did boys (Eisenberg & Lennon, 1983; Strayer, 1989); this difference was interpreted as the result of socialization practices. For example, by age two, girls have demonstrated that they are more likely to come to the aid of a distressed or sad parent than are boys (Golombok & Fivush, 1994). However, the problem with assessing empathy, as described by Eisenberg and Lennon, is that adults' self-rating of their level of femininity has been positively related to their self-report of empathy. Thus, self-presentation and self-esteem issues can potentially prevent males from accurately rating their empathic responses because of the traditional masculine expectation to avoid all things feminine. With that understanding in mind, when males have been asked to rate themselves for empathic reactions and behaviours clearly related to empathy, they score significantly lower than females do. When actual prosocial behaviour is examined, the gender differences cited are inconsistent because action-based assistance by males was found to be more frequent than that by females (Eisenberg & Lennon, 1983).

Nonetheless, socialization appears to play a significant role in the development of empathy in children. Eisenberg and McNally (1993) found that warm parental communication with adolescents was associated with increased sympathetic responses. As well, Koestner, Weinberger, and Franz (1990), in a longitudinal study that assessed whether there was a connection between adult empathic capacity and parental behaviour in early childhood, found a significant relationship. Adult males/females capable of expressing empathic concern were likely to have experienced their fathers as involved in their care as children, their mothers as tolerant of their need to be dependent and vulnerable, and their mothers as presenting and approving of alternatives to aggressive behaviour. Koestner et al. noted that "the strength of the relation between early parenting experiences and an adult personality measure is startling" (p. 714). It is interesting to contrast Koestner et al.'s findings, which include the involved presence of the father, with the series of studies summarized by Zahn-Waxler et al. (1991), who noted that a relation between "positive mother-child interaction and empathy" (p. 255) were relevant for girls but not for boys. As well, there was a positive relationship between sympathetic mothers and daughters who expressed more sympathy that was not found in sons (Fabes, Eisenberg, & Miller, 1990; Zahn-Waxler et al., 1991). When families emphasized traditional sex roles and fathers were considerably less empathetic than mothers, it was found that there was a relationship between mothers and daughters in capacity for empathy that did not exist for the sons. The process of differentially socializing children to others' emotions begins early in life, as Dunn et al. (1991) found. They reported that mothers were already talking more about emotions to their 18-month-old daughters than to their sons. This gender disadvantage was also demonstrated in the disciplining of

children, because parents tended to focus on the other child's feelings for a daughter's transgressions against another child, but did not do so for sons (Golombok & Fivush, 1994).

The sex differences in the socialization of empathy are important in that empathic responsiveness is probably one of the most significant emotional competencies for successful bonding in relationships at any stage of life (Saarni, 1999). However, without the capacity to perceive and identify internal emotional states, expressions, and experiences, empathic capacity will not be developed (Lane & Schwartz, 1987).

The Socialization of Sexuality

Sexual expression is largely another form of emotional expression. Therefore the socialization influences on emotional awareness, the capacity for empathy, the capacity to experience and express vulnerable emotions, the concept of self, and all associated aspects of normative male alexithymia are common to the socialization of male sexuality. The new psychology of men addresses the problematic areas of sexuality from different angles, some of which are "The Centerfold Syndrome" (Brooks, 1997), the objectification of women's bodies (Johnston, 1997), repetitive infidelity (Lusterman, 1997), sexual harassment and sexual abuse (Backman & Backman, 1997; Lisack, 1997), and the sex industry (Stock, 1997). Levant and Brooks (1997) commented on the impossible expectations that men put on themselves and their partners that often lead to dysfunctional behaviour. These expectations were viewed as arising out of gender role strain (Pleck, 1995) and normative male socialization.

Levant and Brooks (1997) described nonrelational sexuality as a tendency "to experience sex primarily as lust without any requirements for relational intimacy or

emotional attachment" (p. 1). An intimate relationship requires emotional closeness, and the male gender-role socialization process discourages emotional awareness, emotional disclosure, and emotional expression (Levant, 1995b, 1998). Levant and Kopecky (1995) and Pollack (1998b) suggested that the problems with emotional closeness begin back in infancy when little boys first learn that being male means being separate from their mothers. This is the point at which males first start "burying their unfulfilled dependency needs" (Levant & Kopecky, 1995, p. 236). It is believed that these unmet needs surface again later in adult life as unconscious dependency in intimate relationships. The unconscious dependency needs are played out as a desire to be emotionally close to an intimate partner while at the same time experiencing too great a fear of repeated separation and abandonment as were imposed on the child during the early years of connecting with his mother. "On the one hand," explained Levant and Kopecky, "it [adult intimate connection] is a chance magically to recover a primitively symbiotic comfort. On the other, it represents a return to a state of defenselessness" (p. 237).

Meth's (1990a) experience with his male clients demonstrated the confusion often experienced by men. Upon reporting the results of an emotional intimacy scale completed by participants in couples counselling, many of the men were angry and defensive to see that they had scored lower than the women on the 'emotional intimacy' component and higher on 'desiring greater sexual intimacy.' Sex was the acceptable way that these men had learned to communicate their feelings, and they viewed other means as unmanly and weak. Meth described the futility that he felt in simply discussing with his male clients how restricting the traditional male code had been, because, especially regarding sexuality, the sexual code was so multifaceted and problematic—problematic in that

since boyhood their sex education had probably been built upon "macho myths" (p. 216). The need to address the social construction of men's sexuality was evident, and as Brooks (1997) explained, "Sex therapy for men has tended to be 'phallocentric'; . . . that is, reserved for helping men improve sexual performance" (p. 29) rather than addressing the adjustment needed in the socialization of traditional male attitudes toward sexuality. Meth contended that the socialization of males regarding sexuality is built around the "fantasy model of sex" (p. 216). This model was viewed as being influenced and shaped to a great degree by erotic literature and film, which, in the end, provides very little valuable guidance for participation in an intimate relationship.

Levant and Brooks (1997) summarized the socialization of nonrelational sexuality when they stated that "we have come to realize that many people find it hard to accept the idea that men's socialization causes them to place a superordinate value on sex and often approach it from a self-involved point of view." (p. 3). This may provide some explanation for the minimal amount of published psychological literature that has critically reviewed the problem of men's nonrelational orientation to sexuality (Levant & Brooks).

Conclusion

In conclusion, developing a cognitive capacity for the perception, identification, evaluation, and differentiation of emotional states and expressions is essential for an adequate level of emotional awareness that fosters a concept of self. All of these components are foundational to the development of cognitive schema and the associated structural transformations that are involved in the process of maturing toward emotional competency. Achieving an adequate level of emotional competency assists in personal

and interpersonal functioning that significantly affects all aspects of life—from family to occupational, during all stages of life—from infancy to the senior years.

For many males the possibility of successfully maturing through progressive levels of emotional awareness is hindered from the onset of their lives because of an unexamined traditional male socialization process. An unexamined process that binds them to outdated notions of polarized male-female sex role expectations and an unexamined process that does not respect the genesis and individuality of their unique representation of masculinity (Pleck, 1981; Thompson & Pleck, 1995). By denying boys and men a comprehensive emotional developmental process through gender-bifuracated socialization, male norms have become rigid and skewed in the direction of the traditional male code—a code that expects males to be less emotionally empathic than females, more prone to express anger aggressively, more likely to transform vulnerable emotions into anger rather than express them, less likely to tolerate emotional intimacy, and more likely to prefer nonrelational sexuality (Levant, 1997a).

Academic examinations of these socialized expectations have become more frequent, thus allowing awareness to be raised and intentional efforts toward change implemented. This literature review has attempted to weave together the essential elements of the socialization process that impact emotional development in order to create knowledge-based change in the new psychology of men and, more specifically, to make advances toward the eradication of normative male alexithymia.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this research was to ascertain whether features postulated to be associated with normative male alexithymia are related to a traditional male's capacity to be emotionally aware of himself and others. This was achieved by measuring male and female endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology and by testing the degree to which gender-differentiated scores in this area related to male and female levels of emotional awareness and male and female frequencies of emotional experience.

It was expected that the male participants' level of endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology would predict their level of emotional awareness. In addition to gender comparisons, tradespersons' scores were compared to college students' scores in all of the aforementioned areas. By determining separate male and female responses for endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology, level of emotional awareness, and frequency of emotional experience, gender-based normative data were generated, adding to the existing knowledge base in these areas of research. As well, the concurrent and discriminant validity of an emotional frequency scale was tested against an emotional awareness scale and a restricted emotionality subscale. Data for testing these hypotheses were gathered using written questionnaires as a means of surveying two research sites (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2003).

In this chapter the research sites and samples are described, the procedure followed for data collection is outlined, the research booklet and scales used for measurement are reviewed, and the procedures followed for coding and marking are covered.

Research Sites

Two research sites were established in a northern Alberta Canadian community. The community is a single-resource city whose population is mainly derived from employees who work at oilsand plants or in businesses and support services that provide for the oilsand industries' and employees' needs.

The first research site was the community college serving the academic, trade and technology, and heavy industrial needs of this northern Alberta resource community. The second research site was established through the Alberta Building Trades Council. It consisted of presidents, business agents, training instructors, and the general membership of six unions working on the oilsands projects or on related projects in northern Alberta centers or members attending short-term upgrading courses sponsored by the respective union. The participating unions were as follows:

1. International Union of Operating Engineers;
2. International Association of Heat & Frost Insulators & Asbestos Workers;
3. International Association of Bridge, Structural, Ornamental and Reinforcing Iron Workers;
4. United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada;
5. General Teamsters; and
6. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

Participants

The total sample from both research sites was 560 participants. Of this total, 372 of the respondents were males and 188 were females. Their ages ranged from 17 years to 66 years, with a mean age of 33 years (SD = 12.7). Of these individuals, 40% were single and 51% were married or living with their significant other.

The total sample was divided into two groups of respondents. The first group was designated "college" respondents and was comprised of volunteer students and staff from the local college who were enrolled in college diploma programs or undergraduate university courses (commerce, English, education). The sample drawn from the various academic departments was comprised of 236 volunteer students and staff; 163 were females and 73 were males ranging in age from 17 to 66 years, with the mean age being 26 years (SD = 26). The majority of the respondents were single (60%). For the purposes of clarity in the remainder of this chapter and Chapters Four and Five, this sample will be referred to as the "college" sample.

The second group was designated "trades" respondents and came from two sites: (a) the community college, and (b) the Alberta Building Trades Council. The community college respondents were enrolled in various trades and heavy industrial courses (mining methods, heavy duty mechanics, millwrighting, electrical, welding) offered at the college and were on a short leave of absence from their places of work. The expected pattern of functioning for tradespersons is to be actively employed with regular brief leaves of absence to upgrade in trade-related skills, safety protocols, computer skills, and expertise on specialized equipment. Repeated temporary leaves of absence followed by an immediate return to work is the rotation pattern for most tradespersons, whether that

individual is an apprentice seeking journey-person status (provincial certification) or a journey-person seeking the Red Seal designation (national certification). The leave of absence is generally no less than two weeks and no more than two months, depending on the trade, the course material, and the current level of achievement. Therefore, for the purposes of accuracy and clarity, the trades and heavy industrial community college students have been separated from the academic college students and classified as tradespersons in this study.

The trades respondents provided through the Alberta Building Trades Council (ABTC) were combined with the trades respondents provided by the community college. The merger of these two peer groups is justifiable as many of the college-trades respondents belonged to a union operating under the auspices of the ABTC. As well, actively employed tradespersons from the ABTC were also anticipating their turn in the classroom for upgrading, and some research participants did, in fact, complete the research questionnaire during a weekend workshop or a two-week training session sponsored by their respective union. Therefore, college trades participants ($n = 82$) and ABTC participants ($n = 242$) were merged into one group, creating a sample referred to as "trades" respondents. Of the total trades sample ($n = 324$), 299 were males and 25 were females ranging in age from 18 to 65 years, with the mean age being 39 years ($SD = 12$). The majority of these participants were married or living with a significant other (62%). For the purpose of clarity in the remainder of this chapter and Chapters Four and Five, this merged sample will be referred to as the "trades" sample, and in all descriptive and statistical analyses the respondents have been treated as one group. The demographic information for both the college and trades samples is summarized in

Table 1. As prescribed by the ethical standards of research and publication in Canada, race and ethnicity were not included in the collection of demographic information.

Table 1

Demographic Information

Demographic	Total sample	College sample	Trades sample
Sample size	560	236	324
Males (n)	372	73	299
Females (n)	188	163	25
Age range	17-66	17-66	18-65
Mean age	33	26	39
% married	40	36	62
% single	51	60	26
Income		Not applicable*	37% $80,000+ 28% $60,000-80,000 23% $40,000-60,000 12% $40,000 or less

* College sample data for income was not consistently reported.

Data Collection

Data Collection at the Community College

Research Site Number 1

Initial contact with the community college was made through a letter of introduction followed by the presentation of a formal research proposal to the Dean of Academics of the college. During this interview it was established that the college was willing to offer the possibility of surveying not only its academic departments, but also its trades and heavy industrial divisions. The length of time required to complete the research booklet was also discussed. Upon acceptance of the research proposal by the

Dean of Academics, the proposal was reviewed by the college's Ethics Committee, who granted final approval for proceeding with the study. College instructors were then invited to volunteer their scheduled class time during a designated seven-day period for the purpose of allowing the collection of data. Interested college instructors created a schedule indicating the classroom location and time available for data collection.

To expedite the proceedings within the scheduled class time allotted, a research assistant accompanied the researcher to each classroom to fulfill practical functions such as the distribution and collection of the research booklets. The research assistant was informed of the ethical considerations to be adhered to during the course of the data-gathering process.

Relevant protocol for effective and ethical research was followed at all locations. Protocol involved using standardized verbal instructions (Appendix A), collecting a signed consent form (Appendix B), supervising the completion of the research booklet, and informing participants of the following ethical issues:

1. the risks and benefits to participants,
2. the assurance of confidentiality and anonymity,
3. the intent to share the raw data from one of the scales with the developer of that scale,
4. the right to withdraw at any time, and
5. the volunteer nature of participation.

An overview of the scales and demographics section was provided, questions were answered, and a consent form (Appendix B) was distributed to interested students and staff. The consent form duplicated the verbal presentation that outlined the purpose

of the study and relevant ethical issues. The students and staff were allowed time to read the consent form, consider their willingness to volunteer, sign it, and return it to the researcher or the research assistant before receiving a research booklet and an envelope.

The research booklets were completed under the supervision of the researcher and the research assistant. The participants were allowed as much time as they needed to complete their booklets which varied from 30 to 70 minutes. To protect privacy and anonymity, the participants sealed the booklets in an envelope before returning them to the researcher. The research assistant remained with the participants who went beyond the scheduled class time. This allowed supervision of each booklet to completion and data gathering to proceed on schedule with the next group of students. Class sizes ranged from 10 to 40 individuals. A total of 318 students and instructors participated in the study: 236 were from the academic department, and 82 were from the trades and heavy industrial departments. The 82 participants from the trades and heavy industrial departments were merged with the building trades sample and therefore classified as trades participants.

Data Collection via the Alberta Building Trades Council

Research Site Number 2

Initial contact was made by telephone with the Executive Director of the Alberta Building Trades Council (ABTC), followed by a mailed submission of the research proposal. A personal meeting secured approval to proceed with gaining further consideration of the project at a provincial executive council meeting of the ABTC.

A pilot project was conducted for the consideration of the ABTC provincial executive prior to the provincial meeting. A local chapter of the International Association

of Bridge, Structural, Ornamental, and Reinforcing Iron Workers agreed to facilitate the pilot project using volunteer union members residing at an oilsands housing complex (3,000-person camp). Approximately 40 volunteers attended this meeting and completed the research booklet. The receptiveness of the volunteer iron workers, the rapport established with the participants, and the overall appropriateness of the study were reported to the provincial executive council by iron worker executives who participated in the pilot project.

At the provincial executive meeting an open discussion period with the executive director of the council, union presidents, business agents, and training coordinators preceded their completion of the research booklet. At the conclusion of this initial contact, 6 of the 13 unions represented at the provincial meeting agreed to allow their membership to participate in the study. Relevant protocol for effective and ethical research was followed during this meeting and at all subsequent gatherings attended by union members. Following protocol involved using standardized verbal instructions (Appendix A), collecting a signed consent form (Appendix B), supervising the completion of the research booklet, and informing participants of the following ethical issues:

1. the risks and benefits to participants,
2. the assurance of confidentiality and anonymity,
3. the intent to share the raw data from one of the scales with the developer of that scale,
4. the right to withdraw at any time, and
5. the volunteer nature of participation.

An overview of the scales and demographics section was provided, questions were answered, and a consent form (Appendix B) was distributed to interested volunteers. The consent form duplicated the verbal presentation that outlined the purpose of the study and relevant ethical issues. The tradespersons were allowed time to read the consent form, consider their willingness to volunteer, sign it, and return it to the researcher before receiving a research booklet and an envelope.

The research booklets were completed under the supervision of the researcher. The participants were allowed as much time as needed to complete their booklets, which varied from 15 to 60 minutes. To protect privacy and anonymity, the participants sealed the booklets in an envelope before returning them to the researcher. The groups surveyed ranged in size from 10 to 90 in attendance. In all cases, at the pilot meeting, the provincial meeting, and all subsequent data-gathering sessions with union members, the research booklet was completed under the supervision of the researcher and collected by the researcher. In total, 243 individuals from the unions participated in the study, and one research booklet was invalidated due to insufficient items completed. Merged with the 242 union participants were the 82 participants from the college trades and heavy industrial departments, which created a total trades sample of 324 participants.

Materials

Research Booklet

Each research booklet was comprised of six sections (Appendix C). Section 1 was the signed consent form that was handed in prior to completing the booklet (Appendix B). Section 2 was the first page of the booklet and addressed demographic questions. Section 3 was the Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI; Levant et al., 1992),

section 4 was the Levels of Emotional Awareness Scale (LEAS; Lane et al., 1990), section 5 was the Marlowe-Crowne Social Dersirability Scale (M-C SDS; Crowne & Marlowe, 1960), and section 6 was the Emotions Inventory (EI; Levant, Majors, et al.). A blank envelope was provided in which to seal the completed booklet before returning it to the researcher.

Measures

The Male Role Norms Inventory

The Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI; Levant et al., 1992) is a 57-item scale consisting of normative statements about the male role. This scale has been developed to assess an individual's acceptance of culturally defined standards for male behavior (Levant & Fischer, 1996; Pleck, 1995, Pleck et al., 1993a; Thompson & Pleck 1995). The developers of the MRNI viewed masculinity as a social construction reflecting variations in the level of endorsement or rejection of the various norms of traditional masculinity ideology. Consistent with social constructionist theory and the gender role strain paradigm, norms are expected to vary according to an individual's social class, race, ethnic group, gender, sexual orientation, life stage, and historical era (Lazur & Majors, 1995; Levant & Fischer, 1996).

The items are presented in a random sequence, and the respondents indicate their level of agreement or disagreement on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree*, with 4 being the neutral point (neither agree nor disagree). Participants were asked to circle the number in the research booklet that indicates their level of agreement or disagreement. The 57 items are grouped into the following eight subscales: (a) Avoidance of Femininity, (b) Rejection of Homosexuals, (c) Self-Reliance,

(d) Aggression, (e) Achievement/Status, (f) Attitudes Toward Sexuality, (g) Restrictive Emotionality, and (h) Nontraditional Attitudes Toward Masculinity. There is also a Total Traditional Scale that is an average of the scores on the subscales (Levant et al., 1992). For the purposes of brevity in the research booklet, only the four subscales with the highest reported reliabilities (Levant & Fischer, 1995, 1996; Levant & Majors, 1996; Levant et al., 1996) were included in the research booklet: Avoidance of Femininity, Attitudes Toward Sexuality, Restrictive Emotionality, and Achievement/ Status. With this adjustment there were a total of 29 items to be completed on the MRNI in the research booklet for this study.

The MRNI has been translated into Chinese, Russian, and Spanish and has been used to assess European Americans, African Americans, Chinese, Russians, Caribbean-Hispanics, and Hispanic Americans. Thus, there is empirical evidence to suggest that traditional masculinity ideology is significantly related to the following criteria:

1. ethnicity (Levant & Majors, 1997; Levant, Majors et al., 2003),
2. life-stage (Maxton, 1994; Silvestri & Lowe, 1995),
3. gender (Levant, 1997a; Massoth, Broderick, Festa, & Momtello, 1996),
4. marital status (Maxton, 1994),
5. culture (Levant, Cuthbert et al., 2003; Levant et al., 1996; Massoth, Breed, Broderick, Callaghan, & Montello, 1996), and
6. race (Levant et al., 1996b)

Discriminant validity of the MRNI was demonstrated by Levant and Fischer (1995, 1996) by comparing the MRNI to a measure derived from the gender role identity paradigm, the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ short form; Spence & Helmreich,

1978). The PAQ was constructed on the basis that gender roles are psychologically and/or biologically based characteristics that are invariant (Pleck et al., 1993a). In contrast, the MRNI was derived from the social constructionist perspective on men's development (Brod, 1987; Kimmel, 1987) and from the gender role strain perspective (Pleck, 1981, 1995). Both of these perspectives conceptualize gender roles as varying and gender expectations as contradictory and inconsistent. In a male college student sample, the MRNI Total Traditional Scale was not related to the Personal Attributes Questionnaire ($r = .06$).

Measures considered to be theoretically congruent with the MRNI are the Masculine Gender Role Stress Scale (MGRSS; Eisler, 1995; Eisler & Skidmore, 1987) and the Gender Role Conflict Scale-1 (GRCS-1; O'Neil et al., 1986; O'Neil et al., 1995). The MGRSS correlated with the MRNI with values of $r = .52$ ($p < .001$) and the GRCS-1 correlated with the MRNI with values of $r = .52$ ($p < .001$) (Levant & Fischer, 1995, 1996). These findings demonstrated the theoretical consistency of the three measures and suggest support for the view that gender roles are contradictory and inconsistent and result in gender role strain. Gender role strain is closely associated with traditional masculinity ideology (Pleck, 1995).

Concurrent validity for several of the MRNI subscales has also been empirically supported (Levant & Fischer, 1995, 1996). The MRNI Restrictive Emotionality subscale correlated with the MGRSS Emotional Inexpressiveness Scale ($r = .46$, $p < .001$) and with the GRCS-1 Restrictive Emotionality Scale ($r = .40$, $p < .001$). As well, the MRNI Aggression and Achievement/Status subscale correlated with the GRCS-1 Success, Power, and Competition Scale ($r = .35$, $p < .001$; $r = .35$, $p < .01$, respectively) and the

MRNI Rejection of Homosexuality subscale correlated with the GRCS-1 Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men Scale ($r = .49$, $p < .001$) (Levant & Fischer, 1995, 1996).

Levels of Emotional Awareness Scale

The Levels of Emotional Awareness Scale (LEAS; Lane et al., 1990) is a short-answer, emotion-based, performance measure that required subjects to describe their anticipated feelings and those of another person in each of 20 vignettes. One emotionally provocative scene is presented per page in a few sentences, and the subject is instructed to write as much or as little as needed in their response to two questions: "How would you feel?" and "How would the other person feel?" Higher scores indicate, in Lane et al.'s (1998) words "greater differentiation in emotion, greater awareness of emotional complexity in self and other, and relative absence of alexithymia" (p. 379).

The LEAS is a measure of an individual's ability to be aware of his or her emotions and the capacity to represent these emotions. The rating of emotion words used to respond to the vignettes is based entirely on the structure of the response rather than on its meaning or appropriateness. With the focus on the structure or complexity of the subject's response rather than on the quality of a specific emotion word, the LEAS is considered to be a *direct* measure of performance capturing the variability between individuals (Lane et al., 1995). It has been demonstrated that accurately measuring emotional complexity with the LEAS does not depend on the number of words that subjects use in their responses (Lane et al., 1990); nor does it depend on the subjects' verbal and nonverbal ability to recognize emotions (Barrett et al., 2000; Lane et al.,

1996); nor does it depend on whether the emotional information is exterospectively or interospectively perceived (Lane et al., 1998).

Discriminant validity with other emotion scales—the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale and the Beck Depression Inventory—was demonstrated (Lane et al., 1990), suggesting that the LEAS is unique in its ability to measure the level of emotional functioning rather than the specific quality of an emotion. Discriminant validity was also demonstrated by the establishment of norms for age, sex, and socioeconomic status (Lane et al., 1996, 1998), as well as the nonsignificant correlation of the LEAS with Larson and Diener's (1987) Affect Intensity Measure (Lane et al., 1995).

Convergent validity was demonstrated with the positive correlation of the LEAS with the Openness to Experience Inventory (Coan, 1972; Lane et al., 1990) and with the degree of right hemispheric dominance in the judgement of facial emotion (Lane et al., 1995). The LEAS total score was also shown to correlate positively and significantly with scores on two measures of cognitive-developmental complexity: Blatt, Wein, Chevron, and Quinlan's (1979) Parental Description Conceptual Level (specifically the cognitive complexity of the description of parents) and the Loevinger and Wessler (1970) Sentence Completion Test of Ego Development (Lane et al., 1990). Both of these instruments were based on Piaget's model, as is the LEAS. The LEAS correlated moderately and significantly with both measures in the direction that was predicted. In two studies conducted by Lisa Feldman Barrett et al. (2000), the LEAS correlated significantly with self-restraint and significantly with one aspect of self-restraint that involved thinking before acting—impulse control. As Lane (2000) stated, "Greater emotional awareness is associated with greater self-reported impulse control, . . . [and] functioning at higher

levels of emotional awareness (levels 3-5) modulates function at lower levels" (p. 176). These findings are consistent with the theory that the LEAS is measuring a cognitive-developmental continuum that it is distinct from other similar measures and that it is not simply a measure of verbal ability. Significant effects were still observed when verbal ability was controlled.

Findings from eight studies using the LEAS supported the concept of sex differences in the capacity to represent the differentiation of emotional states. Feldman Barrett et al. (2000) reported that "sex difference appears to be a stable, highly generalizable effect (p. 1031)." Males in seven of the studies consistently scored lower than did females in their representations of complexity and differentiation of emotional awareness in themselves and others (Feldman Barrett et al., 2000). These findings were consistent with the eighth study previously conducted by Levine et al. (1997).

In previous research the LEAS has been shown to have a highly reliable method of scoring and high internal consistency (Lane, Reiman, et al., 1998), and interrater reliability of LEAS total scores is consistently high: Pearson product-moment $r = 0.97$ (Lane et al., 1995, 1998). As a direct measure it has certain advantages over a self-report measure (Lane et al., 1997) in that to be capable of accurately assessing and reporting their own internal experience of emotions, respondents would have to be consciously aware of those emotions. In other words, there is an analogy between a colour-blind person who would like to be able to describe the difference between colours that he or she cannot detect and a research subject who is being asked to accurately describe or self-report feelings of which he or she is not aware (Lane et al., 1998).

Each of the 20 vignettes on the LEAS is scored separately and can receive a score of 0 to 5, resulting in a maximum total score of 100. Five possible scores (1-5) correspond to the five levels of emotional awareness as developed in the cognitive-developmental theory pertaining to the LEAS. The lowest score (level 0) is assigned when the response is not emotional, and the word *feel* is used to describe a thought or impression rather than a feeling (Lane et al. 2000; Lane & Schwartz, 1987). Level 1 (score of 1) is assigned when the subject's response reflects solely an awareness of bodily sensations or physiological cues. These responses could include statements about bodily sensations such as fatigue, pain, and/or nausea. Level 2 (score of 2) is assigned when the subject's response reflects relatively undifferentiated emotional expression through the use of nonspecific emotion words that are global in nature. *Good*, *bad*, *awful*, and *great* are examples of expressions that fall into this category. As well, statements that are demonstrative (e.g., "I'd feel like hitting something") are classified as level 2 responses. A level 3 (score 3) classification is assigned to responses that use only one emotionally descriptive word that communicates well-differentiated emotion or emotional sharing. Some typical words that fall into this category are *happy*, *sad*, *angry*, *sympathetic*, and *empathetic*. At this level of functioning the individual has developed some ability to assess and represent his or her internal emotional state. An individual functioning at level 4 (score 4) has an awareness of simultaneous multiple emotions that can also be described as blends of different feelings in response to a single emotional event. In other words, in responses on the LEAS, this individual uses two or more consecutive level 3 emotion words that are dissimilar in meaning or intensity. A level 5 (total score of 5) is the classification assigned when an individual has successfully employed level 4 criteria

for their descriptions of both *self* and *other*. However, these descriptions must differ in some way—by reasons given or by the emotion words used. Individuals functioning at this level have the capacity to use blends of feelings for self and other that have not been previously modeled for them, that are unconventional, and that are sometimes metaphoric in nature (Lane & Schwartz, 1987).

Classifying the self and other responses into one of the six levels (level 0 to level 5) does not require interpreting the meaning or appropriateness of the subject's response because the ratings are based solely on a glossary of emotion words provided by the developers of the scale. In this glossary each word has been classified into a level or levels, and that score is applied to the subject's response depending on its usage. The emotion words the subject uses in each scene are assigned a separate value for self and for other. The highest of the two scores is used as the total score. If the respondent rates a 4 for self and another 4 for other, then he or she is assigned the highest possible score for any scene, which is a total score of 5.

Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale

The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (M-C SDS; Crowne & Marlowe, 1960) is a 33-item true-false measure that is self-reported. There are 18 statements that are socially acceptable but unlikely to occur (keyed true)—for example, "I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings" (p. 351)—and 15 statements that are socially unacceptable but likely to be the case (keyed false)—for example, "I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me" (p. 351).

The internal consistency coefficient for the M-C SDS is Kuder-Richardson formula 20 = .88, and a test-retest correlation of .88 has been obtained. Convergent

validity has been established with scores on the M-C scale correlating significantly ($r = .56$) with the scores on a similar measure, the Edwards Social Desirability scale (Edwards SD; Crowne & Marlowe, 1960, 1964; Edwards, 1957). One of the main objectives in the development of the M-C SDS has been to eliminate any items with psychopathological content. Predicted tendencies for subjects to achieve high scores on the M-C with correlated low scores on selected scales from the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) have been somewhat achieved with low to moderate correlations. Contrasting these results to the correlations between the Edwards Social Desirability scale (Edwards SD) and the MMPI, the correlations of the M-C SDS are considerably lower (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964). This suggests that there would be minimum abnormal or pathological implications if the subject's responses were high or low in comparison to the norms. For females the M-C scale norm is 16.82 (n = 752), and for males the M-C scale norm is 15.06 (n = 666) (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964).

High scores indicate a greater tendency to be approval seeking. A subject's desire to look good can significantly affect his or her responses on personality measures. Crowne and Marlowe (1964) suggested that respondents who have high scores are not consciously lying; nor do their responses indicate deliberate deceit. Rather, individuals who depict themselves in favourable terms on the M-C SDS are displaying a social-desirability response set. Individuals "differ in the strength of their need" (p. 27) to be well thought of, and for those whose need is higher, it could be assumed that the individual attempts to gain approval "by engaging in behaviors which are culturally sanctioned and approved" (p. 27). Initially, Cronbach (1946, 1950; as cited in Crowne & Marlowe, 1964) suggested that the source of response bias is "idiosyncratic test-taking

habits of the subject" (p. 6). Contemporary theory takes the position that a personal mode of expression that is demonstrated by a respondent in a test-taking situation is transsituational and therefore generalizable into other areas of the respondent's life. In other words, there is a good probability that the respondent's social desirability score "may reflect more general and important behavioral characteristics" (p. 19). Crowne and Marlowe theorized that the approval-dependent respondent would tend toward "conventional, polite, acceptable behavior, . . . compliance or conformity" (p. 39), yielding to group pressure; and that the respondents less dependent on approval would experience fewer social pressures. As well, language takes on crucial significance for an individual in the high need for social approval group. He or she must be capable of communicating unmet needs in a way that sees those needs met while simultaneously experiencing the approval of others. A situation is created that requires the restriction of language to popular, conventional, and stereotyped expressions and to the use of significantly more plural nouns (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964; Marlowe, 1962).

In an examination of scales designed to measure social desirability, Paulhus (1984) found that the M-C SDS loaded equally on two factors: self-deception, "where the respondent actually believes his or her positive self-reports" (p. 599), and impression management, "where the respondent consciously dissembles" (p. 599). It is the impression management component that needs to be controlled because this component represents a conscious desire to create a false or misleading appearance of self, and this bias may shift depending on the test-taking situation (Linden, Paulhus, & Dobson, 1986; Paulhus, 1984).

Emotions Inventory

The Emotions Inventory (EI; Levant, Majors, et al., 2003) is a recently developed, 10-item self-evaluative scale designed to assess the frequency of emotional *experience*. The items are presented in a random sequence, and the respondents indicate their level of agreement or disagreement on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree*, with 4 being the neutral point (neither agree nor disagree). Participants are asked to circle the number in the research booklet that indicates their level of agreement or disagreement.

The EI has been designed to be a brief measure that may be useful for assessment and clarification of the awareness of emotions in a counselling situation. Its construction was guided by Michael Lewis' (1993) conceptualization of emotional development. The scale is based on 10 of the 12 primary emotions (joy, surprise, sadness, disgust, anger, and fear) and self-conscious emotions (embarrassment, envy, empathy, pride, shame, and guilt) outlined in Lewis' work. Two emotions, joy and pride, had low item-to-total correlations and have, therefore, not been included in the EI items. In distinguishing between emotional experience and emotional expression, Lewis stated that "emotional experience is the interpretation and evaluation by individuals of their perceived emotional state and expression" (p. 226) and that "emotional experiences are dependent on cognitive processes" (p. 227). This view is consistent with the Piagetian model on which the LEAS was founded.

In the development of the EI, measuring the frequency of emotional experience rather than the frequency of expression was a decision that was made in order to create a scale that is sensitive to individuals who may experience an emotion but not express it.

By taking this approach, it is hoped that this instrument will avoid the influence of the gender stereotypes that men are less expressive and less intense in the expression of their emotions (Brody, 1985; Brody & Hall, 1993; Diener, Sandvik, & Larsen, 1985; Fujita, Diener, & Sandvik, 1991; Larsen & Diener, 1987).

In a study of four culturally distinct research sites (Levant, Majors, et al., 2003), male participants tended to endorse a more traditional view of masculinity than did female participants. The four sites were Puerto Rican Hispanic college students (n = 373; San Juan), European-American college students (n = 416; Gainesville, FL), Hispanic college students (n = 162; New York), and an African-American non-college sample (n = 250; Detroit). No significant differences were found between the men and the women in the frequency of their experience of emotions on the EI. Differences on the EI were reported, however, between the women respondents from each of the four sites and between the male respondents from each of the four sites. Compared to their counterparts, both Puerto Rican men and women reported lower frequencies on the EI. As well, for the men from all four sites, the self-reported frequencies of emotional experience from the EI correlated significantly and negatively with the MRNI subscales of Attitudes Toward Sex and Restricted Emotionality. These findings suggest that men with a lower frequency of emotional experience were more restricted in their emotional expression and had more traditional attitudes toward sexuality.

Scoring Procedures

Booklets were identified by an assigned code and classified into three categories: (a) college academic, (b) college trades, and (c) union trades. The coding and marking of all scales and the demographic section was cross-checked by two raters.

The first 100 LEAS protocols were marked independently by the two raters. Preparation and training involved studying previous examples of scoring procedures in a comprehensive scoring manual and discussion with the primary developer of the LEAS. Scored results of the first 100 protocols were then compared, and discrepancies and concerns were discussed with the primary developer of the scale to further facilitate training and accuracy. After the initial training period, all LEAS protocols were scored by the same two independent markers, and discrepancies were resolved by referring to the scoring manual. When no consensus could be reached, the senior researcher's score was assigned. As found in previous research (Lane, 2000), interrater reliability for the total LEAS score was high, with the correlation coefficient ranging from .93 to .97 for the 20 LEAS items.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSES AND RESULTS

The purpose of this study is to examine the effects of the endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology on the level of emotional awareness for men and to examine the relevance of the term normative male alexithymia in the context of level of emotional awareness. Lane and Schwartz's (1987) cognitive-developmental theory of levels of emotional awareness and Lewis' (1993) model of emotional development were reviewed through the normative male alexithymia lens. The influence of the gender-bifurcated socialization of emotions on the development of traditional masculinity ideology and normative male alexithymia was also reviewed with the intention of clarifying the relevance and lifelong impact of traditional masculinity ideology on men's level of emotional awareness and quality of life.

In an effort to more fully understand the relationship between a male's endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology and his level of emotional awareness, four separate hierarchical regressions were conducted for college males and females and for trades males and females. By using hierarchical regression analysis, the differential contribution of the variables and covariates was more accurately understood, although causality cannot be implied. As well, the predictive power provided through regression analyses was more useful than simply understanding the degree of relationship through bivariate correlations (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001).

Separate multivariate analyses of covariance were used to assess whether traditional masculinity ideology varied as a function of whether a male was employed in the trades or attending/instructing college or whether a respondent was male or female.

Multivariate analysis of covariance was also used to assess whether a respondent's level of emotional awareness for self and other varied as a function of gender and category. Using MANCOVAs facilitated discovering which aspect of the dependent variable is more important as a result of being in one of these groups as the variance associated with the covariates was removed before calculating reliable mean differences. MANCOVA was preferred over ANCOVA to protect against inflated Type 1 Error on multiple tests of correlated dependent variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001).

In the following chapter the results of the above-mentioned analyses are reported. It is expected that the participants' level of endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology will predict their level of emotional awareness and that there will be gender and category (college or trades) differences for endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology, level of emotional awareness, and frequency of emotional experience.

Analysis of the Data

The first step taken in preparation for the analysis of the data was to screen for accurate entry of the data into the data set. Measures of central tendency and dispersion were examined to ensure that means, standard deviations, and value ranges corresponded to reasonable values for each scale and for the demographics. A random check was performed to compare values in the raw data against values in the data set. One inaccuracy (age = 300) was discovered, and, by referring to the raw data, the inaccuracy was found to be an error in coding rather than data entry.

The assumptions of normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity were investigated through an examination of histograms, scatter plots, and descriptive statistics. Distributions were relatively symmetric. Assumptions of linearity were met for variables

being tested. The examination of assumptions led to the investigation and consequent removal of an outlier on the LEAS to bring all values within range. The outlier had completed only two items on the LEAS. The means, standard deviations, minimum and maximum ranges of values, and sample sizes are summarized by gender and by category (college and trades) in Table 2. Mean values on the MRNI ranged from 3.09 to 3.99 for males and from 2.17 to 2.75 for females. Mean values on the LEAS ranged from 41.47 to 60.74 for males and from 48.39 to 66.93 for females. These means were comparable to the means reported in the normative data for the LEAS. The M-C SDS means in this study were also comparable to the means reported in the normative data for the M-C SDS ($\bar{x}$ = 13.85-15.45).

The estimation of internal consistency for each variable was calculated. Only cases with complete data were used for this calculation. Reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) for the scales used in this study are presented in Table 3. The majority of reliability coefficients were within acceptable limits ranging from .71 to .82 for the MRNI subscales, and from .86 to .89 for the three LEAS scores. The M-C SDS reliability coefficient was .78, and the EI coefficient was .68.

To determine whether systematic relationships exist for missing data on the MRNI, LEAS, M-C SDS, and the EI, t-tests and chi square tests were used. A pattern for missing data was found in the trades sample. Trades males with missing data on at least one item were significantly older ($\bar{x}$ = 40.57) than those with complete data ($\bar{x}$ = 37.54). In the college sample, there were no significant mean differences in age or gender for those with and without missing data. The LEAS, a long-answer response questionnaire, had the lowest percentage of completed items (73.6%), and a response pattern was found

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics of Dependent Variables by Gender and Category

Variables		n	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. deviation
College males	Avoid fem	73	1.43	6.43	3.99	1.33
	Work/achieve	73	1.00	6.43	3.41	1.08
	Restrict em	73	1.14	6.29	3.33	1.16
	Sexuality	73	1.00	6.13	3.09	1.15
	LEAS total	73	35.00	94.00	60.74	10.69
	LEAS self-score	73	27.37	79.00	53.29	10.22
	LEAS other score	73	5.00	76.00	48.87	11.96
	M-C SDS	72	2.06	27.00	13.85	5.89
	EI	73	2.60	6.40	4.27	0.81
College females	Avoid fem	162	1.00	5.00	2.51	0.87
	Work/achieve	162	1.00	4.71	2.35	0.77
	Restrict em	163	1.00	4.57	2.17	0.73
	Sexuality	163	1.00	4.75	2.38	0.79
	LEAS total	162	34.00	93.00	66.93	10.46
	LEAS self-score	162	19.00	79.00	59.39	10.28
	LEAS other score	162	3.33	74.00	52.81	11.05
	M-C SDS	158	4.00	25.00	14.55	4.54
	EI	157	1.80	6.40	4.49	0.87
Trades males	Avoid fem	297	1.00	6.71	3.97	1.20
	Work/achieve	293	1.00	6.43	3.52	0.98
	Restrict em	296	1.17	6.86	3.41	1.05
	Sexuality	295	1.00	7.00	3.26	1.06
	LEAS total	288	19.00	82.00	56.06	12.09
	LEAS self-score	288	14.00	74.00	49.13	12.10
	LEAS other score	288	0.00	70.00	41.47	14.00
	M-C SDS	291	4.00	30.00	15.45	5.45
	EI	286	2.00	6.80	4.21	0.84
Trades females	Avoid fem	25	1.14	6.14	2.75	1.16
	Work/achieve	25	1.00	4.14	2.31	0.96
	Restrict em	25	1.00	4.00	2.39	0.86
	Sexuality	25	1.25	5.00	2.58	1.03
	LEAS total	25	42.00	91.00	62.44	11.44
	LEAS self-score	25	36.00	76.00	55.74	10.78
	LEAS other score	25	34.00	73.00	48.39	10.26
	M-C SDS	23	3.00	32.00	15.43	7.36
	EI	24	2.30	5.90	4.33	0.90

Note: Avoid fem = avoidance of all things feminine; work/achieve = overinvestment of self in work and achievement; restrict em = restricted emotionality; sexuality = nonrelational attitude toward sexuality.

Table 3

Reliability Coefficients of Major Variables

Scale	Cronbach's alpha
MRNI subscales	
Avoidance of femininity	.82
Work & achievement	.71
Restricted emotionality	.79
Nonrelational sexuality	.77
LEAS	
Total score	.89
Self score	.86
Other score	.87
M-C SDS	.78
EI	.68

for college females and trades males, but not for college males and trades females. For college females and trades males, the percentage of incomplete items increased after item number 13. LEAS protocols that had more than one half of the items completed (11 out of 20) were assigned case-by-case mean substitutions for missing values. Therefore, LEAS protocols were discarded that had data missing for 10 or more items. A 10% rule was employed for the MRNI, M-C SDS and the EI. The MRNI subscales each contain seven or eight items. In compliance with the 10% rule for the MRNI, if more than one item was missing for a subscale, then that subscale was not used. The M-C SDS and the EI scores were represented as means. In compliance with the 10% rule for these scales, if data were missing for 10% or more of the items, then the data were discarded.

A correlation matrix was produced to identify significant covariates and to assess whether the data from the two samples needed to be analyzed separately. In Tables 4-7 the correlations between variables and covariates are presented by gender and category (college or trades). The trade's MRNI scores do not correlate significantly with the LEAS total score, whereas the college sample shows significant correlations between these two variables. Also, as indicated in Table 2, the trades sample have higher means than the college sample on three out of four of the MRNI subscales but lower means on the LEAS total score. These distinguishing differences in combination with the demographic information presented in Table 1 in Chapter Three (college $\bar{x}$ age = 26 years; trades $\bar{x}$ age = 39 years; marital status college 59% single; trades marital status 62% married) suggest that for accurate analyses the college and trades samples need to be treated separately.

The strength of the bivariate correlations among the MRNI subscales and the bivariate correlations among the three LEAS scales is also displayed in the correlation matrix (Tables 4-7). Bivariate correlations of the MRNI subscales were assessed as moderate, with the majority of the coefficients ranging from .44 to .79 (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001) and therefore acceptable for multiple regression analysis and multivariate analysis of covariance. The bivariate correlations between the LEAS self and other scales (.70, .72, .76, and .84) are also within an acceptable range for multivariate analysis of covariance. Multivariate analyses were chosen over univariate analyses to decrease the chance of a Type 1 error.

Table 4

Correlations of Variables and Covariates for College Males (n = 73)

Variables	Age	M-C SDS	Marital	LEAS total	LEAS self	LEAS other	Avoid fem	Work/achieve	Restrict em	Sexuality
M-C SDS	0.16									
Marital	0.60*	0.03								
LEAS total	-0.04	0.05	0.02							
LEAS self	-0.02	-0.03	-0.04	0.92**						
LEAS other	-0.08	0.12	-0.03	0.87**	0.76**					
Avoid fem	-0.16	-0.04	-0.19	-0.37**	-0.34**	-0.40**				
Work/achieve	-0.20	-0.02	-0.32**	-0.19	-0.18	-0.18	0.66**			
Restrict em	-0.08	-0.02	-0.21	-0.41**	-0.41**	-0.38**	0.81**	0.67**		
Sexuality	-0.15	-0.04	-0.29*	-0.38**	-0.40**	-0.34**	0.74**	0.72**	0.79**	
EI	-0.05	-0.39**	0.08	-0.03	0.01	-0.08	0.01	-0.18	-0.05	0.00

Note: Avoid fem = avoidance of all things feminine; work/achieve = overinvestment of self in work and achievement; restrict em = restricted emotionality; sexuality = nonrelational attitude toward sexuality.

**$p < .01$

* $p < .05$

Table 5

Correlations of Variables and Covariates for College Females (n = 163)

Variables	Age	M-C SDS	Marital	LEAS total	LEAS self	LEAS other	Avoid fem	Work/achieve	Restrict em	Sexuality
M-C SDS	0.11									
Marital	0.32**	0.10								
LEAS total	-0.18*	-0.31**	-0.21**							
LEAS self	-0.21**	-0.34**	-0.18*	0.94**						
LEAS other	-0.16*	-0.19*	-0.15	0.81**	0.70**					
Avoid fem	-0.09	0.02	0.00	-0.17*	-0.17*	-0.14				
Work/achieve	-0.25**	-0.01	-0.09	-0.17*	-0.18*	-0.07	0.46**			
Restrict em	-0.09	0.09	0.03	-0.27**	-0.29**	-0.13	0.50**	0.48**		
Sexuality	-0.04	-0.02	0.03	-0.23**	-0.21**	-0.16*	0.44**	0.48**	0.48**	
EI	-0.11	-0.27**	-0.01	0.07	0.11	-0.04	-0.02	-0.01	-0.06	0.10

Note: Avoid fem = avoidance of all things feminine; work/achieve = overinvestment of self in work and achievement; restrict em = restricted emotionality; sexuality = nonrelational attitude toward sexuality.

**$p < .01$

* $p < .05$

Table 6

Correlations of Variables and Covariates for Trades Males (n = 299)

Variables	Age	M-C SDS	Marital	Income	LEAS total	LEAS self	LEAS other	Avoid fem	Work/achieve	Restrict em	Sexuality
M-C SDS	0.12*										
Marital	0.20**	-0.02									
Income	0.24**	0.01	0.17**								
LEAS Total	-0.32**	-0.25**	0.02	-0.12*							
LEAS self	-0.28**	-0.24**	0.05	-0.13*	0.94**						
LEAS other	-0.31**	-0.20**	0.03	-0.10	0.85**	0.72**					
Avoid fem	-0.17**	-0.10	0.00	-0.07	0.10	0.13*	0.03				
Work/achieve	-0.20**	-0.04	-0.13*	-0.01	0.03	0.03	0.00	0.62**			
Restrict em	-0.11	-0.01	-0.04	-0.09	0.03	0.02	-0.01	0.55**	0.56**		
Sexuality	-0.21**	0.01	-0.08	-0.07	0.03	0.01	-0.01	0.61**	0.56**	0.49**	
EI	-0.09	-0.31**	-0.02	-0.03	0.14*	0.15*	0.08	-0.08	-0.07	-0.13*	-0.09

Note: Avoid fem = avoidance of all things feminine; work/achieve = overinvestment of self in work and achievement; restrict em = restricted emotionality; sexuality = nonrelational attitude toward sexuality.

**$p < .01$

* $p < .05$

Table 7

Correlations of Variables and Covariates for Trades Females (n = 25)

Variables	Age	M-C SDS	Marital	Income	LEAS total	LEAS self	LEAS other	Avoid fem	Work/achieve	Restrict em	Sexuality
M-C SDS	0.32										
Marital	-0.06	0.05									
Income	0.12	0.13	0.45*								
LEAS total	0.06	-0.14	-0.26	-0.34							
LEAS self	0.01	-0.22	-0.17	-0.37	0.96**						
LEAS other	0.09	-0.08	-0.12	-0.21	0.91**	0.84**					
Avoid fem	0.07	-0.05	-0.31	-0.27	-0.09	-0.06	-0.13				
Work/achieve	-0.03	-0.11	-0.38	-0.22	-0.07	-0.12	0.03	0.68**			
Restrict em	0.19	0.04	-0.14	-0.06	-0.04	-0.05	0.00	0.78**	0.71**		
Sexuality	-0.04	0.09	-0.42*	-0.20	-0.06	-0.02	-0.13	0.79**	0.58**	0.70**	
EI	-0.38	-0.10	0.38	0.03	-0.26	-0.17	-0.21	-0.12	-0.19	-0.08	-0.14

Note: Avoid fem = avoidance of all things feminine; work/achieve = overinvestment of self in work and achievement; restrict em = restricted emotionality; sexuality = nonrelational attitude toward sexuality.

**p < .01

* p < .05

Hypothesis #1

Four separate hierarchical regression analyses were performed to determine if Avoidance of all things feminine, Overinvestment of self in work and achievement, Restricted emotionality, and Nonrelational attitude toward sexuality (MRNI subscales) will predict capacity for emotional awareness (LEAS total score) for college and trades males and not for college and trades females. Using the LEAS total score as the dependent variable, separate regression analyses were performed for each gender in both samples, holding constant the following covariates for each regression: (a) marital status for the college males; (b) age, social desirability, and marital status for the college females; (c) age, social desirability, marital status, and income for trades males; and marital status for trades females. Tables 8-11 display the unstandardized regression coefficient (B), the standardized regression coefficients (ß), R, R^2, adjusted R^2, R^2 change, and F change at step 1 upon entry of the significant covariates and at step 2 after the independent variables have been added to the equation.

College Males

R was not significantly different from zero at the end of the first step in the analysis of variance. After step 2 with the covariate marital status and all predictors (MRNI subscales) in the equation, $R = .44$, $F(5, 66) = 3.24$, $p < .01$.

After step 1 with marital status in the equation as a covariate, $R^2 = .00$, $F_{inc}(4, 66) = .02$. After step 2, having accounted for the effect of the covariate and adding the four predictors avoidance of all things feminine, overinvestment of self in work and achievement, restricted emotionality, and nonrelational attitude toward sexuality to the

equation as a block, $R^2 = .20$, F_{inc} (4, 66) = 4.04, $p < .005$, in support of Hypothesis #1. The results of this analysis are displayed in Table 8.

College Females

R was significantly different from zero at the end of each step in the analysis of variance. After step 2, with the covariates age, social desirability, and marital status and all predictors (MRNI subscales) in the equation, $R = .50$, $F(7, 146) = 7.11$, $p < .001$.

After step 1 with age, social desirability, and marital status in the equation as covariates, $R^2 = .15$, F_{inc} (4, 146) = 9.06, $p < .001$. After step 2, having accounted for the effect of the covariates and adding the four predictors avoidance of all things feminine, overinvestment of self in work and achievement, restricted emotionality, and nonrelational attitude toward sexuality to the equation as a block, $R^2 = .25$, F_{inc} (4, 146) = 4.93, $p < .001$, failing to support Hypothesis #1. The results of this analysis are displayed in Table 9.

Trades Males

R was significantly different from zero at the end of each step in the analysis of variance. After step 2, with the covariates and all predictors in the equation, $R = .38$, $F(8, 249) = 5.16$, $p < .001$.

Table 8

College Males (n = 72): Hierarchical Regression of Traditional Male Role Norm Variables on Capacity for Emotional Awareness

Model summary	R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	R^2 change	F change	Sig. F change
Step 1	0.02	0.00	-0.01	0.00	0.02	0.89
Step 2	0.44*	0.20	0.14	0.20	4.04	0.01

Coefficients	B	Beta
Step 1		
Marital status	0.45	0.02
Step 2		
Marital status	-1.67	-0.06
Avoid fem	-1.46	-0.19
Work/achieve	1.96	0.20
Restrict em	-2.13	-0.24
Sexuality	-1.90	-0.21

Note: Avoid fem = avoidance of all things feminine; work/achieve = overinvestment of self in work and achievement; restrict em = restricted emotionality; sexuality = nonrelational attitude toward sexuality.

**$p < .01$

* $p < .05$

Table 9

College Females (n = 154): Hierarchical Regression of Traditional Male Role Norm Variables on Capacity for Emotional Awareness

Model summary	R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	R^2 change	F change	Sig. F change
Step 1	0.39**	0.15	0.14	0.15	9.06	0.001
Step 2	0.50**	0.25	0.22	0.10	4.93	0.001

Coefficient	B	Beta
Step 1		
Age	-0.13	-0.12
M-C SDS	-0.67**	-0.29
Marital status	-3.61*	-0.17
Step 2		
Age	-0.19*	-0.18
M-C SDS	-0.62**	-0.27
Marital status	-3.37*	-0.16
Avoid fem	-0.44	-0.04
Work/achieve	-1.77	-0.13
Restrict em	-2.12	-0.15
Sexuality	-1.21	-0.09

Note: Avoid fem = avoidance of all things feminine; work/achieve = overinvestment of self in work and achievement; restrict em = restricted emotionality; sexuality = nonrelational attitude toward sexuality.

**$p < .01$

* $p < .05$

After step 1 with age and social desirability, marital status, and income in the equation as covariates, R^2 = .14, F_{inc} (4, 249) = 9.95, p < .001. After step 2, having accounted for the effect of the covariates and adding the four predictors avoidance of all things feminine, overinvestment of self in work and achievement, restricted emotionality, and nonrelational attitude toward sexuality to the equation as a block, R^2 = .14 (adjusted R^2 = .12), F_{inc} (4, 249) = .46. Addition of the predictors results in a nonsignificant increment in R^2, failing to support Hypothesis #1. The results of this analysis are displayed in Table 10.

Trades Females

R was not significantly different from zero at the end of each step in the analysis of variance. After step 2, with the covariate and all predictors in the equation, R = .39, $F(5, 19)$ = .67.

After step 1 with marital status in the equation as a covariate, R^2 = .07 (adjusted R^2 = .03), F_{inc} (4, 19) = 1.66. The effect of the covariate was not significant. After step 2, having accounted for the effect of the covariate and adding the four predictors avoidance of all things feminine, overinvestment of self in work and achievement, restricted emotionality, and nonrelational attitude toward sexuality to the equation as a block, R^2 = .15 (adjusted R^2 = -.07), F_{inc} (4, 19) = .46. Addition of the four predictors results in a nonsignificant R^2 in support of Hypothesis #1. The results of this analysis are displayed in Table 11.

Table 10

Trades Males (n = 258): Hierarchical Regression of Traditional Male Role Norm Variables on Capacity for Emotional Awareness

Model summary	R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	R^2 change	F change	Sig. F change
Step 1	0.37**	0.14	0.12	0.14	9.95	0.001
Step 2	0.38	0.14	0.12	0.01	0.46	0.768

Coefficient	B	Beta
Step 1		
Age	-0.28**	-0.27
M-C SDS	-0.45**	-0.20
Marital status	2.21	0.09
Income	-0.76	-0.07
Step 2		
Age	-0.29**	-0.28
M-C SDS	-0.44**	-0.19
Marital status	1.88	0.08
Income	-0.68	-0.06
Avoid fem	0.84	0.08
Work/achieve	-1.18	-0.10
Restrict em	0.05	0.00
Sexuality	-0.21	-0.02

Note: Avoid fem = avoidance of all things feminine; work/achieve = overinvestment of self in work and achievement; restrict em = restricted emotionality; sexuality = nonrelational attitude toward sexuality.
**$p < .01$
* $p < .05$

Table 11

Trades Females (n = 25): Hierarchical Regression of Traditional Male Role Norm Variables on Capacity for Emotional Awareness

Model summary	R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	R^2 Change	F Change	Sig. F Change
Step 1	0.26	0.07	0.03	0.07	1.67	0.21
Step 2	0.39	0.15	-0.07	0.08	0.46	0.763

Coefficient	B	Beta
Step 1		
Marital status	-5.86	-0.26
Step 2		
Marital status	-10.26	-0.45
Avoid fem	-1.51	-0.15
Work/achieve	-3.26	-0.27
Restrict em	4.91	0.37
Sexuality	-2.54	-0.23

Note: Avoid fem = avoidance of all things feminine; work/achieve = overinvestment of self in work and achievement; restrict em = restricted emotionality; sexuality = nonrelational attitude toward sexuality.
**$p < .01$
* $p < .05$

Hypothesis #2

In order to test the hypothesis that trades males will endorse traditional masculinity ideology to a greater degree than will college males, a one-way between-subjects multivariate analysis of covariance was performed on the four subscales of the MRNI: avoidance of all things feminine, overinvestment of self in work and achievement, restricted emotionality, and nonrelational attitude toward sexuality. Assumptions of normality, homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices, linearity, and

lack of multicollinearity were found to be satisfactory. Table 12 displays the main effects, the univariate analysis of effect on each dependent variable, the means, the F statistics, and the levels of significance.

Table 12

MANCOVA of MRNI Subscales on College Males Versus Trades Males

		Means	
	F value	College (n = 72)	Trades (n = 281)
Multivariate effect of category	3.47**		
Univariate effect of category			
Avoid fem	1.83		
Work/achieve	8.92**		
Restrict em	2.36		
Sexuality	9.50**		
Means by Category			
Avoid fem		3.77	4.02
Work/achieve		3.14**	3.59**
Restrict em		3.17	3.42
Sexuality		2.83**	3.32**

Note: Avoid fem = avoidance of all things feminine; work/achieve = overinvestment of self in work and achievement; restrict em = restricted emotionality; sexuality = nonrelational attitude toward sexuality.
**$p < .01$
* $p < .05$

Adjustment was made for the covariates age and marital status. With the use of Wilks' criterion, the combined DVs were significantly related to the covariate age, $F(4, 346) = 3.74$ $p < .005$, and to the covariate marital status, $F(4, 346) = 2.71$ $p < .03$. Because the interaction effects (category by age, category by marital status, age by

marital status) were not significantly related to the combined DVs, they were removed from the equation. In support of Hypothesis #2, the combined DVs were significantly associated with category, $\underline{F}(4, 346) = 3.47$ $\underline{p} < .009$.

The effects of category on each dependent variable were further investigated by univariate analysis to determine the degree to which each dependent variable varied with category. After adjusting for the covariates age and marital status, Overinvestment of self in work and achievement, $R^2 = .06$, $\underline{F}(1, 349) = 8.92$ $\underline{p} < .003$, and nonrelational attitude toward sexuality, $R^2 = .05$, $\underline{F}(1, 349) = 9.50$ $\underline{p} < .002$, vary significantly as a function of whether a male is in college or in a trade. Avoidance of all things feminine, $R^2 = .03$, $\underline{F}(1, 349) = 1.83$, and restricted emotionality, $R^2 = .02$, $\underline{F}(1, 349) = 2.36$, did not vary significantly as a function of whether a male is in college or working in a trade.

Hypothesis #3

In order to test the hypothesis that males will endorse traditional masculinity ideology to a greater degree than will females, a one-way between-subjects multivariate analysis of covariance was performed on the four subscales of the MRNI: avoidance of all things feminine, overinvestment of self in work and achievement, restricted emotionality, and nonrelational attitude toward sexuality. Separate MANCOVAs were performed for the college sample and the trades sample to determine whether the dependent variables (MRNI subscales) vary as a function of the independent variable gender. Assumptions of normality, homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices, linearity, and lack of multicollinearity were found to be satisfactory. Tables 13 and 14 display the main effects, the univariate analysis of effect on each dependent variable, means, the F statistics, and the levels of significance.

College Sample

For the college sample, adjustment was made for the covariates age and marital status. With the use of Wilks' criterion, the combined DVs were not significantly related to the covariate age, $F(4, 224) = 2.31$ or to the covariate marital status $F(4, 224) = .416$. Because the interaction effects (age by gender, age by marital status, and marital status by gender) were not significantly related to the combined DVs, they were removed from the equation. In support of Hypothesis #3, gender is significantly associated with the combined DVs for the college sample, $F(4, 224) = 27.02$ $p < .001$. The results of this analysis are displayed in Table 13.

Table 13

MANCOVA of MRNI Subscales on College Males Versus College Females

		Means	
	F value	College males (n = 72)	College females (n = 159)
Multivariate effect of gender	27.02**		
Univariate effect of gender			
Avoid fem	86.98**		
Work/achieve	55.57**		
Restrict em	76.62**		
Sexuality	26.22**		
Means by gender			
Avoid fem		3.95**	2.53**
Work/achieve		3.33**	2.40**
Restrict em		3.32**	2.18**
Sexuality		3.08**	2.40**

Note: Avoid fem = avoidance of all things feminine; work/achieve = overinvestment of self in work and achievement; restrict em = restricted emotionality; sexuality = nonrelational attitude toward sexuality.
**$p < .01$
*$p < .05$

The effects of gender on each dependent variable were further investigated by univariate analysis. After adjusting for the covariates age and marital status, avoidance of all things feminine varies significantly as a function of gender in the college sample, $R^2 = .31$, $F(1, 227) = 86.98$ $p < .001$. Overinvestment of self in work and achievement also varies significantly as a function of gender in the college sample, $R^2 = .28$, $F(1, 227) = 55.57$ $p < .001$, as do restricted emotionality, $R^2 = .28$, $F(1, 227) = 76.62$ $p < .001$, and nonrelational attitude toward sexuality, $R^2 = .13$, $F(1, 227) = 26.22$ $p < .001$.

Trades Sample

For the trades sample, adjustment was made for the covariates age and marital status. With the use of Wilks' criterion, the combined DVs were significantly related to the covariate age, $F(4, 299) = 3.44$ $p < .009$, but not to the covariate marital status, $F(4, 299) = 2.38$. Because the interaction effects (gender by age, gender by marital status, and age by marital status) were not significantly related to the combined DVs, they were removed from the equation. In support of Hypothesis #3, gender is significantly associated with the combined DVs for the trades sample, $F(4, 299) = 10.94$ $p < .001$.

The effects of gender on each dependent variable were further investigated by univariate analysis. After adjusting for the covariates age and marital status, avoidance of femininity varies significantly as a function of gender in the trades sample, $R^2 = .09$, $F(1, 302) = 25.58$ $p < .001$. Overinvestment of self in work and achievement also varies significantly as a function of gender in the trades sample, $R^2 = .15$, $F(1, 302) = 40.32$ $p < .001$, as do restricted emotionality, $R^2 = .08$, $F(1, 302) = 22.61$ $p < .001$, and nonrelational attitude toward sexuality, $R^2 = .08$, $F(1, 302) = 11.90$ $p < .001$. The results of this analysis are displayed in Table 14.

Table 14

MANCOVA of MRNI Subscales on Trades Males Versus Trades Females

		Means	
	F value	Trades males (n = 281)	Trades females (n = 25)
Multivariate effect of gender	10.94**		
Univariate effect of gender			
Avoid fem	25.58**		
Work/achieve	40.32**		
Restrict em	22.61**		
Sexuality	11.90**		
Means by gender			
Avoid fem		3.97**	2.70**
Work/achieve		3.52**	2.25**
Restrict em		3.38**	2.35**
Sexuality		3.26**	2.51**

Note: Avoid fem = avoidance of all things feminine; work/achieve = overinvestment of self in work and achievement; restrict em = restricted emotionality; sexuality = nonrelational attitude toward sexuality.
**$p < .01$
*$p < .05$

Hypothesis #4

In order to test the hypothesis that capacity for emotional awareness will vary as a function of gender and category, a two-way multivariate analysis of covariance was performed on the LEAS Self score and the LEAS Other score. Assumptions of normality, homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices, linearity, and lack of multicollinearity were found to be satisfactory. Table 15 displays the main effects, the univariate analysis

of effect on each dependent variable, the means, the F statistics, and the levels of significance.

Table 15

MANCOVA of LEAS Self and Other Score on Gender Versus Category

	F value	Means	
		Males (n = 344)	Females (n = 179)
Multivariate effect of category and gender			
Category	1.69		
Gender	9.79**		
Univariate effect of gender			
LEAS Self Score	19.45**		
LEAS Other Score	12.06**		
Means by gender			
LEAS self score		50.80**	56.97**
LEAS other score		44.60**	50.08**

Note: Avoid fem = avoidance of all things feminine; work/achieve = overinvestment of self in work and achievement; restrict em = restricted emotionality; sexuality = nonrelational attitude toward sexuality.
**$p < .01$
*$p < .05$

Adjustment was made for the covariates age, social desirability, and marital status. With the use of Wilks' criterion, the combined DVs were significantly related to the covariate age, $F(2, 515) = 12.16$ $p < .001$ and to the covariate social desirability, $F(2, 515) = 10.48$ $p < .001$. The combined DVs were not significantly related to marital status, $F(2, 515) = .08$. Because the interaction effects related to age, social desirability, marital status, gender, and category were not significantly related to the combined DVs, they

were removed from the equation. Failing to support Hypothesis #4, the combined DVs were not significantly associated with being in college or in a trade, $F(2, 515) = 1.69$. However, in support of Hypothesis #4, the combined DVs were significantly associated with gender, $F(2, 515) = 9.79$ $p < .001$.

The effect of gender on each dependent variable was further investigated by univariate analysis to determine the degree to which each dependent variable varied as a function of gender. After adjusting for the covariates age, social desirability, and marital status, the LEAS Self Score, $R^2 = .21$, $F(1, 516) = 19.45$ $p < .001$, and the LEAS Other Score, $R^2 = .20$, $F(1, 516) = 12.06$ $p < .001$, vary significantly as a function of whether a research participant is male or female. When age, social desirability, and marital status are held constant, males have a significantly lower mean than do females for the LEAS Self Score and for the LEAS Other Score. This statistically significant difference is graphically illustrated in Figures 2 and 3.

Hypothesis #5

In order to test the concurrent validity of the EI, correlational analysis was used to examine the association between frequency of emotional experience (EI) and capacity for emotional awareness (LEAS total score). Statistics for each pair of variables are based on all the cases with valid data for that pair. In support of Hypothesis #5, for trades males frequency of emotional experience was found to be significantly and positively related to capacity for emotional awareness, $r = .14$ $p < .021$. Frequency of emotional experience was not significantly related to capacity for emotional awareness for trades females or for college males and females.

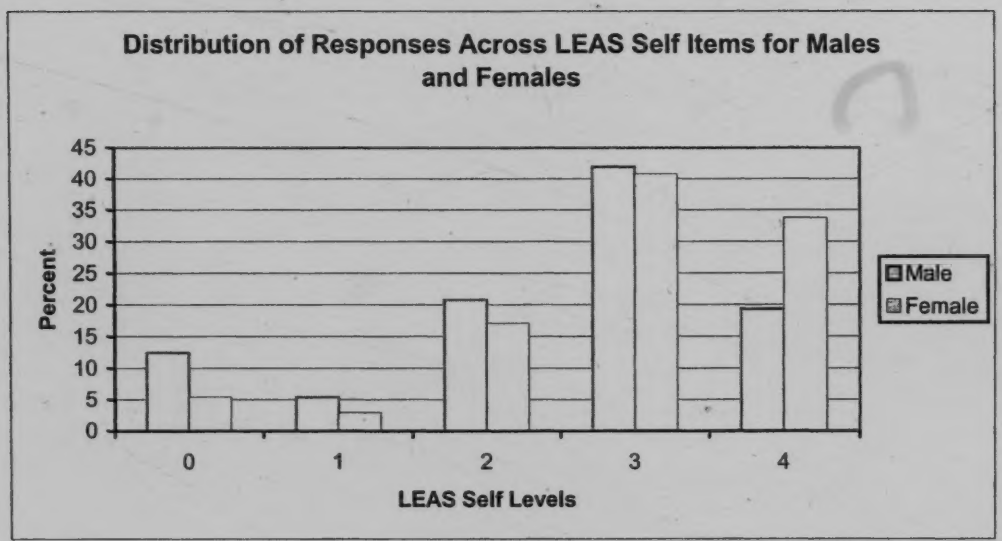

Figure 2. Distribution of responses across LEAS Self items for males and females.

Legend: Description of the Levels of Emotional Awareness for the LEAS
0 = Thinking with no emotional response.
1 = Bodily sensations, symbiotic relationships, no awareness of emotion states.
2 = Global arousal initiates actions, minimal relationships, no awareness of emotion states.
3 = Limited behavioral regulation, empathy inconsistent, limited differentiation of emotion states.
4 = Behavioral expression regulated, some empathy, differentiated emotion & verbal description.
5 = Not applicable to LEAS Self and Other scores. Level 5 is only assigned to the LEAS Total score.

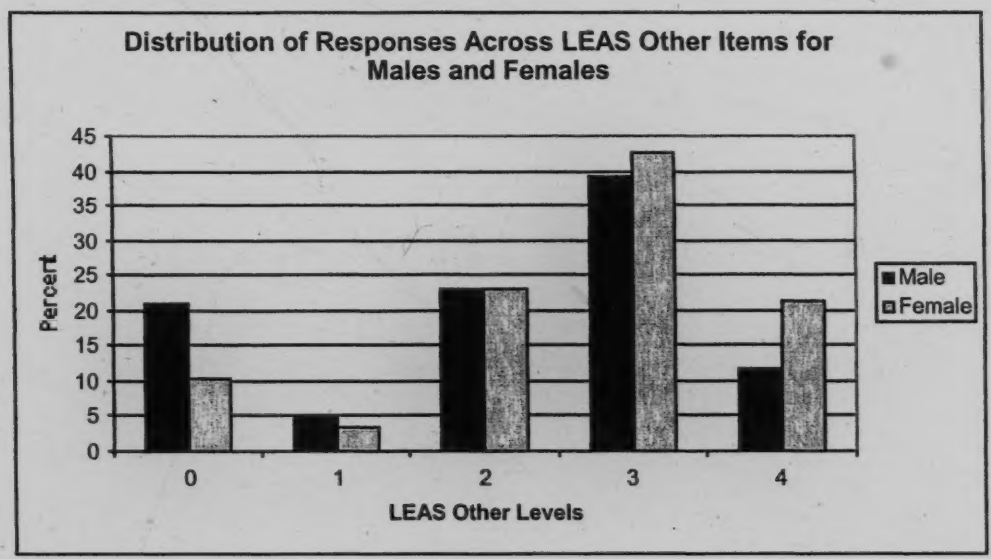

Figure 3. Distribution of responses across LEAS Other items for males and females.

Legend: Description of the Levels of Emotional Awareness for the LEAS
0 = Thinking with no emotional response.
1 = Bodily sensations, symbiotic relationships, no awareness of emotion states.
2 = Global arousal initiates actions, minimal relationships, no awareness of emotion states.
3 = Limited behavioral regulation, empathy inconsistent, limited differentiation of emotion states.
4 = Behavioral expression regulated, some empathy, differentiated emotion & verbal description.
5 = Not applicable to LEAS Self and Other scores. Level 5 is only assigned to the LEAS Total score.

In order to test the discriminant validity of the EI, correlational analysis was used to examine the association between frequency of emotional experience (EI) and restricted emotionality (MRNI subscale). In support of Hypothesis #5, for trades males frequency of emotional experience was found to be significantly and negatively related to restricted emotionality $r = -0.13$ $p < .025$. Frequency of emotional experience was not significantly related to restricted emotionality for trades females or for college males and females.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this research is to measure the capacity for emotional awareness of self and others as it relates to the endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology and the frequency of emotional experience. By doing so, it is expected that our understanding of the normative male alexithymia construct will be enhanced and its prevalence and influence in the lives of traditional men more clearly understood. It was hypothesized that there would be significant relationships between certain features postulated to be associated with normative male alexithymia and a male's level of emotional awareness and frequency of emotional experience. This was examined by measuring whether the endorsement of traditional male role norms would predict the level of emotional awareness and by measuring the degree to which the endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology and level of emotional awareness varied according to gender and category (college or trades). Analyses also tested whether there was a relationship between frequency of emotional expression and level of emotional awareness, and frequency of emotional expression and restricted emotionality. Normative data were generated, adding to the existing knowledge base in these areas of research.

The results of this study demonstrated that trades males and females differ from college males and females in the relationship between traditional male role norms and level of emotional awareness. Trades males endorsed the traditional male code to a greater degree than did college males, and trades and college males endorsed the traditional male code to a greater degree than did their female counterparts. It was also found that trades and college males had a lower level of emotional awareness than did

trades and college females. A relationship between frequency of emotional expression and level of emotional awareness, and frequency of emotional expression and restricted emotionality was found for the trades males, but that relationship did not exist for college males or for trades and college females.

This is the first attempt made at understanding traditional male role norms in the context of a building trades population. In this study differences between males working in the trades and males attending/instructing college were found in the relationship between endorsing traditional male role norms and level of emotional awareness. Trades males' greater endorsement of the traditional male code did not predict their level of emotional awareness. On the other hand, college males' more attenuated endorsement of the traditional male code did predict their level of emotional awareness. Reasons for this difference between the two groups of males are not clear and can only be speculated upon. Nonetheless, it can be said that college males who adhere to a traditional male belief system tend to be emotionally unaware, tend to have difficulty differentiating emotion states, and therefore respond to emotional situations with global evaluations (all good or all bad) of those states, negatively impacting interpersonal relationships (Lane & Schwartz, 1987, Lane et al., 2000). By measuring interoceptive emotional awareness using functional brain imaging, Lane et al. (2000) concluded that there is a strong and positive relationship between interoceptive and exteroceptive capacities consistent with their original concept that the same schemata are used to process internal and external sources of emotional information. Thus, it may be entirely possible that the external source of emotional information represented in the form of pressure to conform to the traditional male code influences the formation of cognitive schemata that are responsible

for emotional awareness. Additionally, this finding for college males supports Pollack's (1998b) and Levant's (1998) views that traditional masculinity ideology puts boys and men in a gender straitjacket, limiting their capacity for emotional awareness and emotional expression, thus compromising intimate relationships. Relationships are often compromised by a common male response to the gender straitjacket, which is to funnel the expression of vulnerable emotions through the expression of anger and to restrict the expression of caring emotions—two responses postulated to be associated with normative male alexithymia that apply to college males.

That trades males' greater endorsement of the traditional male code did not predict their level of emotional awareness was an unexpected finding. This group of males is behaving differently than has been found in previous research with college males (Levant, Majors, et al., 2003). Different paths in education and lifestyle may be contributing to this difference. One could surmise that individuals who pursued a career path in the trades were differentially socialized by coming from a familial background where an academic education was not valued or economic and social circumstances did not support the pursuit of an academic education. As well, historically, many individuals who experienced difficulties in grade school for any variety of reasons were directed toward a vocational education. The circumstances that shaped the chosen path may suggest unique socializing and developmental influences for trades males that affect quality of life in adulthood (Liu, 2002); however, this perspective is speculative because this study was not designed to examine this issue. It is worthy of note, however, that for trades males, their age and their need for social approval were found to play a greater role

in explaining their level of emotional awareness than was their tendency to endorse a traditional masculine belief system.

A tradesman's age was predictive of his level of emotional awareness. This finding is consistent with previous research by Lane et al. (1998) suggesting that as male mature, their level of emotional awareness decreases. However, research by Levinson (1978) and anecdotal observation of the male developmental process contradicts these findings. Anecdotal observation suggests that as males mature, their capacity for emotional expression and emotional awareness increases, prompting the common maxim that 'the peak of male expressiveness is found in grandfatherhood.' These contradictory findings warrant further investigation.

Tradesmen's tendency to seek social approval was also predictive of their level of emotional awareness when the endorsement of the traditional male code was not. Social approval-seeking behavior as measured in this study in no way suggests maladjustment or pathology (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). Rather, it suggests that test-taking behavior, which was found to be significant in the male trades sample, may be generalized into real-life situations. In other words, a tendency to acquiesce in a test-taking situation may represent a personal coping style that is transsituational and "may reflect more general and important behavioral characteristics" (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964, p. 19). Approval-seeking behaviors may be particularly relevant to trades people through the level of conformity generally aspired to by this group. A socialization process initiated by their union and by their trade's history perhaps encourages a more rigid code of conduct, suggesting that specific behaviors be adhered to as a way of earning their badge of honor. For example, the emerging and enlightened thinking in the trade's leadership is to sustain

a high regard for safe work practices; however, old paradigms would commonly suggest that the mature journeyperson should display visible signs of industrial hardship. This emphasis on conformity could also suggest a willingness to respond to leadership and to care about their image in a larger context than the specific union. The need for social approval may also have been initiated through an education process that values an academic education over a vocational education, setting the stage for approval-seeking behaviors in other contexts.

The finding that approval-seeking behavior was more important in explaining capacity for emotional awareness for tradesmen than was endorsement of the traditional male code invites questions. Because previous research in emotional awareness and traditional male norms has primarily involved college populations, is the tradesmen's need to seek social approval an overlooked aspect of traditional masculine behavior specific to that population? How does the tradesmen's need to seek social approval connect to the gender-bifurcated socialization of men, and in particular how does it connect to the socialized experience of shame? Steven Krugman (1995) proposed that men's awareness of deficits in emotional competence has the potential to induce shame and passivity. Could shame and passivity be represented through approval-seeking behaviors that overshadow the need for a personal voice in the areas of emotional awareness and emotional expression?

Another difference was found between males working in the trades and males attending/instructing college. Trades males endorsed traditional masculinity ideology to a greater degree than did college males. This greater endorsement was particularly evident in the areas of overinvesting one's self in work and achievement and sustaining a

nonrelational attitude toward sexuality. Consistent with social contructionist theory, one plausible view of this difference is that the tradesmen may be responding to socially and occupationally distinct expectations that differ from what males in a college setting experience. Previous research has examined how variations in the endorsement of traditional and nontraditional masculinity differ according to the culture of a country (Levant, Cuthbert, et al., 2003; Levant et al., 1996), region (Levant et al., 1998; Levant et al., 1992; Pleck et al., 1994), and ethnic origins (Levant & Majors, 1997; Levant, Majors, et al., 2003). This study examined variations in the endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology according to social/occupational setting and found that social and occupational differences significantly impacted the degree to which males endorsed the traditional masculinity ideology.

In contrast to the aforementioned differences between the two male samples, similarities were found between the trades and college males in their greater adherence to a traditional male belief system than was found for their female counterparts. This suggests that the male participants in this study, whether working in the trades or studying/instructing at a college, are more likely to endorse the idea that men should (a) avoid all things feminine; (c) be driven to establish their identity through their work, achievement, and status; (d) restrict the expression of their emotions; and (e) approach the expression of their sexuality in a nonrelational manner than are the female participants working in the trades or attending/instructing college. The college and trades females are more likely to have intimate, emotionally connecting sexual experiences, to balance work and personal life, to have a positive definition of masculinity, and to experience and express vulnerable emotions (Levant & Brooks, 1997; Levant & Fischer,

1996). The findings of gender differences in the college sample are consistent with those in previous research on traditional masculinity ideology conducted in college settings. The parallel findings regarding the trades sample provide the new psychology of men with a broader knowledge base, further elucidating the prevalence of the endorsement of traditional male norms and the urgency to address the gender-bifurcated socialization of men and boys.

Another similarity between trades and college males was found in their lower capacity for emotional awareness of themselves and others due to the effect of gender. This finding is consistent with those in previous research (Feldman Barrett et al., 2000; Levine et al., 1997). The effect of gender is significant, whereas the effect of being in a trade or in college is not significant. This conclusion is tentative, however, because this finding is based on a pooled sample of trades and college males and females who differ on demographic indices. Nonetheless, consistent with the theory on normative male alexithymia (Levant, 1994, 1996, 1998) and the theory of levels of emotional awareness (Lane et al. 1987, 2000), this pooled sample of males is *more* likely than the pooled sample of females (a) to respond to emotionally laden scenarios with rational thoughts rather than experiencing emotions; (b) to experience bodily sensations without the ability to distinguish these sensations from emotional states; (c) to express global representations of feelings that are undifferentiated; (d) to experience global self-conscious feelings of unworthiness, shame, and self-absorption (narcissism); (e) to have a poor concept of self; and (f) to project emotion states outward through action-based behavior, outbursts of emotion, and/or anger and aggression. Additionally, this pooled sample of males is *less* likely than the pooled sample of females (a) to simultaneously experience a variety of

opposing feelings for another individual in difficult circumstances, (b) to experience another individual as different from themselves, (c) to fully appreciate another's emotional experience in an empathetic manner, (d) to see a situation involving oneself through the eyes of others, (e) to be able to find a course of action that will meet the needs of all concerned, and (f) to elicit a lexicon of feeling words (Lane & Schwartz, 1987). In this study, males were found to be less able to differentiate their emotional states than were females, and it is the truncation of the identification and differentiation of emotional states that is foundational to the development of normative male alexithymia (Levant, 1998; Levant & Kopecky, 1995).

In the context of this study, lower emotional awareness for college males is particularly relevant because for these men the expected relationship between a traditional masculine belief system and level of emotional awareness was confirmed. Confronted with undifferentiated emotional states, college males with low emotional awareness experience dissonance, confusion, overwhelming somatic distress, and an inability to reflect on their inner life upon encountering an emotionally charged situation. Low emotional awareness is characterized by avoidance—avoidance of unpleasant neurophysiological arousal by not attending to bodily sensations and by not generating symbolic representations of emotional experiences (Lane & Schwartz, 1987). In the areas of traditional masculinity ideology and normative male alexithymia, low emotional awareness is also characterized by a tendency to believe that men should be avoidant—avoidant of all things feminine, avoidant of emotional closeness through nonrelational sexuality, avoidant of vulnerability by seeking status and overinvesting self in work, avoidant of accessing the caring emotions by restricting emotionality and

channeling emotional expression through anger, and avoidant of close relationships by maintaining a low capacity for empathy. These tendencies would be amplified for college males and are characteristics that have been postulated to be associated with normative male alexithymia.

For the tradesmen, their frequency of emotional expression was found to be positively related to their capacity for emotional expression and negatively related to restricting the expression of their emotions. This relationship was not found for females working in the trades or for males and females attending/instructing college. That these findings apply exclusively to the tradesmen and that their endorsement of the male code did not predict their level of emotional awareness invites speculation about the uniqueness of the group and, in particular, how frequently they express emotions and the degree to which that expression involves vulnerable emotions. However, the reliability and validity of the findings regarding frequency of emotional expression are questionable because the measure used for this assessment is new and not fully developed.

Limitations of the Study

One of the major limitations of this study is that a scale to measure normative male alexithymia has not been developed. There is a need to develop a measure that is sensitive to the basic characteristics of alexithymia on the mild to moderate end of the alexithymia spectrum. It is important that this scale be a direct performance measure as opposed to self-report because individuals who are emotionally unaware will be unable to assess their own lack of capacity for cognitive development and emotional regulation, much like a color-blind person is unable to identify and evaluate his or her own limitations.

It was difficult to assess socioeconomic differences between the college sample and the trades sample for the following reasons. The trades may seem to be a homogeneous group, but within this group is a hierarchical education system involving years of apprenticeship, journeyperson status, and Red Seal designation that is difficult to compare with a traditional academic education. This comparison is complicated by the fact that, in the present economic climate, some third- and fourth-year apprentices are at the income level of many other professions that require a university education. Furthermore, within the trades environment there is a differentiation between the various vocational streams regarding compensation and status. Economic status in the college population also became problematic as some students were adolescents in transition from a financially secure family and reported a student loan income, whereas others reported their parents' income.

The unequal sample sizes have ecological validity in both the trades sample and the college sample, but these differences created some difficulties for analysis that could be viewed as a limitation to the study. However, it could be argued that the decision not to artificially equalize the sample sizes in fact enhances the generalizability of the results by reflecting true differences in the nature of the two populations studied (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001).

The findings must be tempered by the fact that both samples were convenience samples, and a segment of the trades sample were volunteers possibly with a predisposed interest in the subject matter. As well, the majority of the instruments were self-report in nature, and the Emotions Inventory is a new instrument in the process of being developed and validated.

Clinical and Research Implications

The findings in this research suggest that males, whether attending/instructing college or working in the trades, endorse the traditional masculine code to a greater degree than their female counterparts do and have less capacity to be emotionally aware than their female counterparts do. The implications for clinicians working with men are to examine their therapeutic approach in light of these findings and to strive to improve the psychological services they provide. Specifically, "the clinician should be aware that some men have learned to measure themselves using the yardstick of traditional masculinity ideology" (Levant, 1996, p. 263) and may present with false bravado to mask the isolation and shame they feel from attempting to meet impossible traditional masculine standards. They could also present with stress and agitation as a result of being cut off from their own resources for empathy and concern (Pollack & Levant, 1998) or present with the silence of hidden confusion that often accompanies normative male alexithymia. It should be no surprise that many men do not have faith in traditional treatment models because "beneath the mask of stoicism and lonely strength that men are encouraged to present to the world, men suffer enormous psychological pain" (Pollack & Levant, 1998, p. xii) that often goes unrecognized.

Few therapists are aware of the prevalence of normative male alexithymia in their male clients, the criteria that comprise the condition, and the limiting and destructive socialization that lies at its source. Having the ability to identify and understand gender bifurcated socialization and normative male alexithymia is crucial for effective therapy with men because "alexithymia is the single most common cause of poor outcome or outright failure of psychoanalysis and psychoanalytic psychotherapy" (Krystal, 1988,

p. xi). "Over 60% of the time," cited Pollack and Levant (1988), "healthcare professionals fail to diagnose and treat male patients' depressive disorders" (p. 2).

Pollack and Levant (1998) cited six aspects of the male role that stand as impediments to successful diagnosis and treatment. A summary of the six aspects is as follows:

1. difficulty in admitting the existence of a problem,
2. difficulty in asking for help and tolerating being dependent on others,
3. difficulty in identifying and processing vulnerable and caring emotions,
4. fear of intimacy or the interdependent sharing of vulnerable feelings,
5. sexualization of encounters with female therapists and homophobic barriers in encounters with male therapists, and
6. lack of appropriate psychological and psychotherapeutic treatments designed from a perspective that is empathetic to men's needs, struggles, and conflicts (pp. 2-3).

Generally speaking, the therapist needs to be capable of designing a service that is sensitive to the male role by avoiding the dissonance that occurs between traditional psychological services and the above-mentioned aspects of the male role. The findings from this research regarding the role that social approval and age played in predicting the level of emotional awareness for trades males suggest that designing a service that is sensitive to males is more complex than simply being gender aware. A broad consideration of a male's "culture" that encompasses his social class, occupation, and family attitudes, as well as gender orientation, race, and ethnicity, is essential for effective therapy.

In Krystal's (1988) view, an appropriate and crucial treatment for alexithymia (and normative male alexithymia) would include an emphasis on resolving the inability to provide self-care. He found that "the inhibition of self-caring was the keystone of the entire structure of alexithymia" (p. xiv). The inhibition of self-care or being unable to consider one's own needs as important could be manifested through the need to seek social approval from others. Thus, trades males' need to seek social approval may be synonymous with an inability to address their own emotional needs and an inability to identify their emotional states, which is suggestive of normative male alexithymia. Therefore, it is incumbent upon therapists working with males to be aware that the client may present with a need to please the therapist. Developing the ability to recognize and deal with this possible indicator of the presence of normative male alexithymia is essential in order to approach the therapeutic experience in an effective manner. For example, it may be most appropriate to begin therapy with an alexithymic male with a psychoeducational component that assists with the identification of body sensations that signal the presence of emotion states, the identification of emotional expression in others, and the development of a lexicon of feeling words (Levant, 1995). Working with early memory traces and early transferences that are associated with gender bifurcated socialization experiences may be more appropriate in later stages of therapy to eventually facilitate the capacity to fully and consciously care for self and reduce the need for social approval from others.

When men are provided with a program for change that utilizes their "pragmatic, action-taking, goal-oriented strengths, they're extraordinarily successful at resolving these problem areas" (Levant & Kopecky, 1995, p. 18). One such counselling program

that was founded on Krystal's (1982) "technical modifications" (p. 371) of traditional psychotherapy was developed by Ron Levant (1995). This program utilizes psychoeducational techniques in the initial stages of treatment to develop cognitive awareness of the alexithymic disturbances. The program then progresses to guiding the client to develop affect tolerance, differentiate emotion states, verbalize feelings, regulate emotional expression, and attach meaning to the emotional states and expressions. Another recommended program developed by William Pollack (1995) utilizes an experience-near, male-empathic form of psychoanalytic psychotherapy. Mooney (1998) discussed a cognitive behaviorist approach in his writings. Discussion on gender sensitive therapy and assessment and men's consciousness-raising groups can be found in Potash (1998), Brooks (1998), Brooks and Silverstein, (1995) and Lazur (1998); and an excellent discussion on the treatment of shame in men can be found in Krugman (1998). Taking into account the unique socializing influences for trades males, these programs might be enhanced by incorporating a consideration of age, life stage, and approval-seeking behaviors.

Research in the area of normative male alexithymia is hindered by the need for an instrument that measures this construct. The LEAS may serve as a model to develop an instrument that is a direct measure of the structure of a participant's response that would be preferable to a self-report instrument. Important in the development of a measure would be to include some way of taking into account a person's social construction of self in order to further understand the significance of dimensions influencing the many variations of masculinity ideology.

The development of a new scale that is culturally sensitive to assessing the level of endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology is in progress. In light of the findings in this study regarding trades males, some consideration needs to be given to the relationship between traditional masculinity ideology and the need for social approval for males in working-class occupations. To be inclusive of all males in Western society, a broad definition of culture in the development of this scale will be necessary.

Further research needs to be conducted with individuals working in the building trades to more clearly understand the unique socializing and developmental influences that shape the personalities of tradesmen and how these influences affect tradesmen's life experiences. Research addressing other specific occupational groups would also be beneficial in broadening the knowledge base of the new psychology of men. Becoming more knowledgeable involves a continued comprehensive examination of the underpinnings of normative male alexithymia and its relevance to emotional awareness and to socialized traditional expectations for males.

In expanding our understanding of the psychology of men, studying adult male developmental stages and transsituational and transgenerational approval-seeking behaviors may yield valuable insights that can be utilized in a clinical setting. Based on the findings, clinical work with men needs to expand beyond our current understanding of gender sensitive therapy and expand toward an approach that is also culturally sensitive.

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APPENDIX A

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENTS

Appendix A: Introductory Statements

[Introduction by Individual in Charge]

I want to thank _____ (the individual's name) for his/her cooperation and support of my research by allowing me to address your class today.

Before I give you a brief summary of the purpose of the research, I want to state that participation in this study is voluntary. You do not have to participate.

If you do decide to complete the questionnaires, then your consent to participate in the study is your voluntary completion of the booklet. In other words, if you fill out the questionnaires, you are giving me permission to score your responses and to use those scores in my research analysis. You can withdraw your participation at any point and leave any question unanswered. I would encourage you, however, to try and respond to each statement even if you are unsure of your response.

Participation is anonymous. That means that I will not know who filled out which questionnaire and neither will your instructor/the individual in charge. Please do not put your name anywhere on the booklet or on the envelope so that your responses cannot be identified. After you complete the booklet, please put it in the envelope and seal it shut. I will assign each completed booklet a number code after I collect them.

The purpose of this study is to examine the roles that men play in our society and their level and frequency of emotional awareness. Responses from both men and women are needed.

Please follow the instructions at the top of each page. On some sections you circle the answers and on other sections you are asked to write out your answers. In the section where you are asked to write out the answers, you are given an entire blank sheet with a few statements at the top [display example sheet]. What I want to emphasize is that you may write as much or as little as you wish but there is no requirement to fill the page. Your score will not be higher based on the number of words on the page so please respond in a way that represents your feelings—be it a brief explanation or a long one. Some of the scenarios described in this written section may cause you to feel some uncomfortable feelings. Please let me know if you become too uncomfortable to continue.

Thank you again for allowing me to be here today and thank you to those who choose to help me with my study. The results of the study will be made available to your instructor so that you can have access to and read the dissertation when it is completed.

APPENDIX B

CONSENT FORM

Appendix B: Consent Form

Please Sign

INVESTIGATOR: Lorraine H. Bray, M.Ed., C. Psych. (Doctoral Candidate at the University of Alberta)

SUPERVISOR: Dr. Fern Snart, University of Alberta, Telephone: 780-492-3751

DESCRIPTION: This is a study about emotional awareness and the roles that men play in our society. **We are studying how most men in our society have been encouraged from boyhood onward not to express their emotions** and how this **impacts their relationships** during their adult life.

The Questionnaire first asks for some information on your background, and then has four parts—each with its own set of instructions. It will take about 40 minutes to complete. Your answers will be scored and used as data for the completion of my doctoral thesis.

The raw scores—which are just the numbers with no details—of three scales will be shared with the developers of those scales. They do not see the booklets or your specific answers or your personal information, just a list of numbers. These individuals are Dr. Ron Levant of Nova Southeastern University in Florida, and Dr. Richard Lane of the University of Arizona.

RISKS AND BENEFITS: It is conceivable that you may experience some mild emotions while considering the questions in this survey, but emotions at this level could also come about through such normal daily activities as watching television or reading magazines.

CONFIDENTIALITY: We want this survey to remain anonymous, so please do not put your name anywhere on the questionnaire. After signing this form, remove it and hand it into the researcher independent of handing in the booklet. This way your privacy is protected.

RIGHT TO WITHDRAW: You may choose not to participate at all, or you may refuse to answer certain questions, or you may discontinue at any time.

VOLUNTARY CONSENT: Participation in this study is completely voluntary and your consent is required before you can participate. By signing the consent form you are giving permission to have your answers used for this research project.

SIGNATURE: _____ **DATE:** _____

APPENDIX C

RESEARCH BOOKLET

CODE: _____

Thank you for your help with this study! I am studying emotional awareness and the roles of men in our society and am very interested in your experiences and opinions.

Please answer the brief demographic questions on this page, and then complete each questionnaire as directed at the top of each page.

I would like this survey to remain anonymous, so please do not put your name on the questionnaire. Again, I appreciate your cooperation.

- **Age (Years & Months): _____**

- **Sex: M F**

- **Marital Status:**

  Single Married Separated Divorced

  Widowed Living with Significant Other

- **Where would you place your family's yearly income?**

  Under $20,000 $20,000 - $40,000 $40,000 - $60,000

  $60,000 - $80,000 $80,000 - $100,000 Over $100,000

- **In what province/country were you raised? _____**

- **How long have you been working/living in Alberta? _____Years ____ Months**

Thank you very much for taking the time to help with this study.

MALE ROLE NORMS INVENTORY

Circle the number which indicates your level of agreement or disagreement with each statement.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	No opinion	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

1. If necessary a man should sacrifice personal relationships for career advancement.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. A man should do whatever it takes to be admired and respected.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. A man should prefer football to needlecraft.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Hugging and kissing should always lead to intercourse.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Nobody likes a man who cries in public.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Men should make the final decision involving money.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. It is important for a man to be good in bed.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. A man should never reveal worries to others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. A man should try to win at any sport he participates in.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. One should not be able to tell how a man is feeling by looking at his face.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. In a group, it's up to the man to get things organized and moving ahead.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. It is too feminine for a man to use clear nail polish on his fingernails.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Jobs like firefighter and electrician should be reserved for men.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Housework is women's work.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Men should not be too quick to tell others that they care about them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. Boys should prefer to play with trucks rather than dolls.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. It's OK for a man to buy a fast, shiny sports car if he wants, even if he may have to stretch beyond his budget.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. A man shouldn't have to worry about birth control.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. A man shouldn't bother with sex unless he can achieve an orgasm.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

20. A man should avoid holding his wife's purse at all times.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. Men should always take the initiative when it comes to sex.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. Fathers should teach their sons to mask fear.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. Being a little down in the dumps is not a good reason for a man to act depressed.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. A man should always be ready for sex.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25. Boys should not throw baseballs like girls.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26. For a man, sex should always be spontaneous, rather than a pre-planned activity.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27. For men, touching is simply the first step toward sex.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28. A man should always be the major provider in his family.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29. Men should be detached in emotionally charged situations.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

EMOTIONAL AWARENESS SCALE

INSTRUCTIONS

Please describe what you would feel in the following situations.

The only requirement is that you use the word "feel" in your answers. You may make your answers as brief or as long as necessary to express how you would feel. In each situation there is another person mentioned. Please indicate how you think that other person would feel as well.

1. A neighbor asks you to repair a piece of furniture. As the neighbor looks on, you begin hammering the nail but then miss the nail and hit your finger. How would you feel? How would the neighbor feel?

2. You are walking through the desert with a guide. You ran out of water hours ago. The nearest well is two miles away according to the guide's map. How would you feel? How would the guide feel?

3. A loved one gives you a back rub after you return from a hard day's work. How would you feel? How would your partner feel?

4. You are running in a race with a friend with whom you have trained for some time. As you near the finish line, you twist your ankle, fall to the ground, and are unable to continue. How would you feel? How would your friend feel?

5. You are traveling in a foreign country. An acquaintance makes derogatory remarks about your native country. How would you feel? How would your acquaintance feel?

6. As you drive over a suspension bridge you see a person standing on the other side of the guardrail, looking down at the water. How would you feel? How would the person feel?

7. Your sweetheart has been gone for several weeks but finally comes home. As your sweetheart opens the door....how would you feel? How would your sweetheart feel?

8. Your boss tells you that your work has been unacceptable and needs to be improved. How would you feel? How would your boss feel?

9. You are standing in line at the bank. The person in front of you steps up to the window and begins a very complicated transaction. How would you feel? How would the person in front of you feel?

10. You and your spouse are driving home from an evening out with friends. As you turn onto your block you see fire-trucks parked near your home. How would you feel? How would your spouse feel?

11. You have been working hard on a project for several months. Several days after submitting it, your boss stops by to tell you that your work was excellent. How would you feel? How would your boss feel?

12. You receive an unexpected long-distance phone call from a doctor informing you that your mother has died. How would you feel? How would the doctor feel?

13. You tell a friend who is feeling lonely that she/he can call you whenever she/he needs to talk. One night she/he calls at 4:00 a.m. How would you feel? How would your friend feel?

14. Your dentist has told you that you have several cavities and schedules you for a return visit. How would you feel? How would the dentist feel?

15. Someone who has been critical of you in the past pays you a compliment. How would you feel? How would the other person feel?

16. Your doctor told you to avoid fatty foods. A new colleague at work calls to say that she/he is going out for pizza and invites you to go along. How would you feel? How would your colleague feel?

17. You and a friend agree to invest money together to begin a new business venture. Several days later you call the friend back only to learn that she/he changed her/his mind. How would you feel? How would your friend feel?

18. You sell a favorite possession of your own in order to buy an expensive gift for your spouse. When you give him/her the gift, he/she asks whether you sold the possession. How would you feel? How would your spouse feel?

19. You fall in love with someone who is both attractive and intelligent. Although this person is not well off financially, this doesn't matter to you -- your income is adequate. When you begin to discuss marriage, you learn that she/he is actually from an extremely wealthy family. She/he did not want that known for fear that people would only be interested in her/him for her/his money. How would you feel? How would she/he feel?

20. You and your best friend are in the same line of work. There is a prize given annually to the best performance of the year. The two of you work hard to win the prize. One night the winner is announced: your friend. How would you feel? How would your friend feel?

MARLOWE-CROWNE SCALE

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is true or false as it pertains to you personally. Circle the answer you chose.

- Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates. **True False**
- I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble. **True False**
- It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged. **True False**
- I have never intensely disliked anyone. **True False**
- On occasion I have had doubts about my ability to succeed in life. **True False**
- I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way. **True False**
- I am always careful about my manner of dress. **True False**
- My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant. **True False**
- If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen I would probably do it. **True False**
- On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability. **True False**
- I like to gossip at times. **True False**
- There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right. **True False**
- No matter who I am talking to I am always a good listener. **True False**
- I can remember playing sick to get out of something. **True False**
- There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone. **True False**
- I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake. **True False**
- I always try to practice what I preach. **True False**
- I don't find it particularly difficult to get along with loud mouthed, obnoxious people. **True False**
- I sometime try to get even rather than forgive and forget. **True False**
- When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it. **True False**
- I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable. **True False**
- At times I have really insisted on having things my own way. **True False**
- There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things. **True False**
- I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrongdoings. **True False**
- I never resent being asked to return a favor. **True False**
- I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own. **True False**
- I never make a long trip without checking the safety of my car. **True False**
- There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others. **True False**
- I have almost never felt the urge to tell someone off. **True False**
- I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me. **True False**
- I have never felt that I was punished without cause. **True False**
- I sometimes think when people have a misfortune they only got what they deserved. **True False**
- I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings. **True False**

THE EMOTIONS INVENTORY

Circle the number which indicates your level of agreement or disagreement with each statement.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	No Opinion	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

1.	I almost never feel disgust.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	I often feel embarrassed.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	I often feel shame.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	I almost never feel surprise.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	I often feel anger.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	I often feel empathy.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	I almost never feel sad.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	I often feel envy.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	I almost never feel fear.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	I almost never feel guilt.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7